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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION BULLETIN



NORTH CAROLINA: INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN

North Carolina Club
Year-Book, 1920 - 21

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

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CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

FORWARD LOOKING MEN

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

The future works out great men's purposes;
The present is enough for common souls,
Who, never looking forward, are indeed
Mere clay, wherein the footprints of their age
Are petrified forever.

THE MEASURE OF A NATION

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

I am saddened when I see our successes
as a nation measured by the number of
acres under tillage or the bushels of wheat
exported; for the real value of a country
must be weighed in scales more delicate
than the Balance of Trade.

The garners of Sicily are empty now, but
the bees from all climes still fetch honey
from the tiny garden plot of Theocritus.
On a map of the world you may cover
Judea with your thumb, Athens with a
finger tip, and neither of them figures in
the Prices Current; but they still lord it
in the thought and action of every civilized
man.

Did not Dante cover with his hood all
that was Italy six hundred years ago? Ma-
terial success is good, but only as the neces-
sary preliminary of better things.

The measure of a nation's true success
is the amount it has contributed to the
thought, the moral energy, the intellectual
happiness, the spiritual hope and conso-
lation of mankind.

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NORTH CAROLINA CLUB

1920-21

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CHAPTER I

THE NORTH CAROLINA CLUB

FOREWORD, BY E. C. BRANSON

1. The North Carolina Club at the University of North Carolina was organized in the fall of 1914. It is composed of faculty members and students of all classes and schools. Its membership is **not** large—as a matter of fact, it is always small. We have found that as a rule the people on the campus who have time to devote to the social-minded purposes of such a club are right around fifty year by year. The club meets on fortnightly Monday nights for one hour. The club schedules are matured, detailed, dated, and bulletined in the early fall of each college year. At the first meeting of the club in the new college year, the definitely dated details of the program are chosen by various club members. Thus the program of the year usually consists of some sixteen sessions at which are reported the investigations, interpretations, and applications of the volunteer research workers. The field covered in the yearly programs of the Club is the economic, social, and civic problems of North Carolina—the puzzles of life and livelihood in the home state. The subjects are almost always research enterprises, and the results are entitled to college degree credit whenever they approach the high level of research standards in the University.

2. Manifestly then, the purposes of the club are (1) competent acquaintance with the forces and influences, institutions and agencies, drifts and tendencies that are making or marring the developing democracy of the Mother State; (2) intelligent, interested, active citizenship as a fundamental necessity in democratic communities; and (3) competent public service. The club assumes that a proper study for North Carolinians is North Carolina; that an acre in Tarheelia is worth a whole township in Utopia, to paraphrase an arresting sentence of Macaulay's; that knowing on which side of a commonwealth's bread the butter is, is worth at least as much as knowing on which side of the Hellespont Abydos was.

3. The Club Year-books are an easy index of club ideals, purposes, and achievements. These Year-books are (1) The Resources, Advantages, and Opportunities of North Carolina, (2) Wealth and Welfare in North Carolina, (3) County Government and County Affairs in North Carolina, (4) State Reconstruction Studies, (5) North Carolina, Urban and Industrial (now in the hands of the printers), and (6) Home and Farm Ownership in North Carolina (the Club studies of 1921-22). The discussions of the club are passed on to the state, along with other research results in the department of Rural Social-Economics, in the columns of

the University News Letter, which goes at present, free, fifty times a year to fifteen thousand homes in North Carolina and other states, to every newspaper in the state, and which, directly or indirectly, reaches a half million readers weekly.

The outstanding purpose of the club is to interest university students in the problems of the home state, to arouse them and prepare them for active participancy in state affairs, and to put them in way of growing into effective leadership in the life beyond campus walls. It is proper to say that such were the purposes of the Watauga Club in Raleigh, composed of Walter H. Page in the days of his buoyant youth, Chief Justice Walter Clark, John G. Duggar, Alfred Haywood, and later on, E. C. Branson, Clarence Poe, and many another young North Carolinian who long ago dreamed of careers useful to North Carolina. Out of this club came many epoch-making results for the state. They need not now be here detailed. I merely wish to record the fact that the North Carolina Club at the University is the offspring of the Watauga Club in Raleigh and that the ideals and purposes today are exactly of a sort with those of the original club in the capital city in the boyhood days of Walter H. Page.

CHAPTER II

INDUSTRIAL CAROLINA IN 1920

E. C. BRANSON, UNIVERSITY FACULTY

A Billion Dollar State

Nearly a billion dollars, or more nearly exactly, \$943,808,000, is the factory value of the manufactured products of North Carolina in 1919. And this total does not cover hand trades, building trades, and neighborhood industries, that is to say, domestic industries not organized in factory systems.

Factory industries alone considered, only fourteen states made a better showing than North Carolina, and only one of these was a Southern state. But then, Texas is not a state—it is an empire, with nearly twice the population and more than five times the area of North Carolina.

The simple fact is that we were among the fifteen foremost states of the Union in manufacturing industries in 1919. See the table closing this subject.

Twenty years ago twenty-seven states outranked North Carolina in the value of manufactured output. Among the states that stood ahead of us at that time were Maryland, Virginia, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Louisiana, and Colorado. But we have moved beyond these thirteen states in manufacturing industries during the last two decades. Which means that the Old North State is striding forward in seven-league boots; that she is moving out of the dominance of agriculture into the dominance of industry—out of a country into a town-and-factory civilization, not in the number of people involved, but in wealth and influence. The point we make becomes clear when we consider the influence of something like 2,000 people who are busy with the business of banking in North Carolina. They are few in number but their lightest whisper sounds like thunder, and the lifting or lowering of their eyebrows registers fair weather or foul day by day for two and a half million people. Of similar sort is the rapidly developing influence of manufacture in the state.

Twenty-Year Increases

During the first twenty years of the new century, our factory establishments rose from 3,465 to 5,999. They did not greatly miss doubling in number.

The factory wage earners of North Carolina rose from 72,000 to 158,000; which is to say, they were more than doubled in number.

But the volume of their annual wages rose from 14 million to 127 million dollars, which is almost exactly nine times as much.

The primary horsepowers used in our factories rose from 154,000 to 550,000.

The capital employed rose from 68 million dollars to 669 million dollars—in manufacturing industries alone, mind you. It is nearly ten times as much as twenty years ago.

The cost of the materials consumed, including mill supplies and rent of power and heat, increased from 45 million to 527 million dollars; which is eleven times as much.

The total value of products rose from 85 million to 944 million dollars. Here again the value is eleven-fold.

And, finally, the value added by manufacture to raw materials rose from 40 million dollars in 1899 to 416 million dollars in 1919, which is nearly exactly ten times as much.

The table of twenty-year increases follows, and the details of it are worth a thoughtful consideration:

North Carolina Factory Establishments:	1899	1919
Number.....	3,465	5,999
Wage earners.....	72,322	157,659
Capital employed.....	\$68,283,005	\$669,144,000
Wages paid.....	\$14,051,784	\$126,753,000
Materials used.....	\$44,854,224	\$526,906,000
Value of products.....	\$85,274,083	\$943,808,000
Value added by manufacture.....	\$40,419,859	\$416,902,000

Our Primacy in the South

North Carolina led the South in 1919 in the number of factory establishments, with 5,999 against 5,603 in Virginia, her nearest competitor.

In the number of wage and salary-earners she led Georgia, her nearest competitor, by 34,000.

In the capital employed she led Texas by more than 100 million dollars, Virginia by 230 million dollars, and Georgia by 250 million dollars.

In the total value of manufactured products Texas was the only Southern state that outranked North Carolina in 1919, and her lead was only 57 million dollars. Our next nearest competitor was Georgia which fell behind by 250 million dollars.

And in values added to raw materials in the processes of manufacture North Carolina far and away led the South—with 417 million dollars, against 298 million dollars in Texas, 269 million dollars in Virginia, and 253 millions in Georgia. But even more significant is the percent of value added to raw materials by manufacture in North Carolina. In this particular we led the whole United States, Wyoming alone excepted.

Our ratio of increase in value contributed by the processes of manufacture was 249 percent. The only other Southern state that was in sight of us in this detail was South Carolina, with a ratio of 220 percent increase in the value of raw materials added by manufacture.

North Carolina, in a word, has a clear lead in the South in manufacturing industries.

We lead the world in tobacco manufacture. The 33 tobacco factories of the state consume a fourth of all the leaf tobacco used in manufacture in the entire United States, and pay a full fourth of all the tobacco taxes of the Union. In tobacco production we are not far behind Kentucky, the leading tobacco-growing state in America. Kentucky stands ahead of us in the pounds of tobacco produced in average years, but North Carolina stands first in the total farm value of her tobacco crops.

We lead the South in the cotton textile industry in almost every detail—in the number of mills, in the number of spindles and knitting machines, in the number of new looms installed year by year, in the number of operatives employed, in the total capital in use, in the volume of wages paid, in the gross value of textile products, in the variety of cotton textiles produced, and even more significantly in the ratio of values added to raw cotton in the processes of manufacture. Our own mills consume a half million bales of cotton more than the state produces in average years.

There are now 513 textile mills in the state, compared with 180 in South Carolina and 173 in Georgia.

North Carolina has more mills that dye and finish their own product than any other Southern state.

The largest hosiery mills in the world are located at Durham, N. C.

The largest towel mills in the world are located at Kannapolis, N. C.

The largest denim mills in the United States are located at Greensboro, N. C.

The largest damask mills in the United States are located at Roanoke Rapids, N. C.

Winston-Salem contains the largest underwear factory in America.

Gaston county, with around 100 mills, is the center of fine-combed yarn in the South.

Moreover, we lead the South in the number of furniture factories, in the amount of capital invested, in the number of operatives employed, in the variety of products, and in the total value of the annual output.

The Look Ahead

But what North Carolina shall be as an industrial state in the years to come does not yet appear. The way ahead lies wide open.

“Ten years more at the present rate of progress,” says the Greensboro News, “and it will be nip and tuck between North Carolina and Massachusetts for first place in the manufacture of cotton. In twenty

years by the exercise of reasonable intelligence North Carolina ought to lead both Massachusetts and Lancashire, and to hold an undisputed position as mistress of the cotton trade. Everything works in our favor. The cotton is at our doors. Electric power to drive machinery is available, and waterpower to generate electricity exists in many places in the state that have not as yet been invaded by the construction gang. The state's population numbers two and a half millions, and it is an industrious stock capable of developing the highest degree of manual skill. The situation could hardly be improved had it been made to order for the development of a great textile industry."

The editor might have named another factor related to the future development of cotton mill industries in North Carolina—namely, the white farm tenants and their families who are still struggling with economic hazards and social disadvantages in her country areas. Counting only those who are fifteen years old and over, they number 227 thousand. Our factory employees numbered only 158,000 in 1919. In short, the available, untouched source of white wage labor in the state is larger than the grand total of wage earners employed today in our factory industries of all sorts, plus all other wage earners in the various mechanical trades. Which means that our cotton mills have a one hundred percent chance to expand in labor force during the next ten years—a basis on which to increase machine production in something like a ten-fold ratio.

Cotton mills in the South, be it remembered, have flourished in densely populated areas of white farm tenants. Outside these particular areas successful cotton mills are so few as to be negligible in number anywhere in the South. Nobody sees this fundamental fact more clearly than cotton-mill promoters in the East. We ran across seven of these keen-witted men on the train to Texas last fall. They have an eye on Texas, but they are not in the least in doubt about the future cotton-mill territory of that state. We are spying out the land of densely populated white farm tenants, said they, and their map of this area was perfectly drawn by the social engineering expert in the party. It set us to wondering how many men in the South were given to painstaking, competent prospecting in this fashion.

A Great Industrial Area

The industrial area of North Carolina lies in the coastal plain and foothill country—a reap hook in shape, with a broad blade and handle, the point of the blade in Raleigh, the curve following the bend of the Southern Railway to Charlotte, and the handle reaching westward through Gaston and Lincoln counties to Rutherford. In this area of cotton and tobacco farming and excessive farm tenancy are 48 counties, and in these counties are nearly three-fourths of our factory enterprises, more than

four-fifths of all the bank capital of the state, and right around six-sevenths of all the business in bank loans and discounts.

Naturally the bulk of the manufactured products of North Carolina is turned out in our rapidly growing cities with their suburban clusters of industrial enterprises. Multiplying industries mean rapidly growing cities everywhere. The towns without factory industries must be content to remain small, or to mark time in population increases, or to dwindle and disappear from the map.

Our fourteen cities with 10,000 inhabitants or more contain within their corporate limits more than a fourth of all the factory workers of the state, and their factory output was right around two-fifths of the state total in 1919. But if we include the mills just outside city limits, then nearly half the factory wage earners of the state and more than half the manufactured output must be credited to these fourteen larger cities in North Carolina.

Winston-Salem with 200 million dollars' worth of factory products in 1919 was far in the lead, followed by Durham with 71 million dollars. Charlotte came next with 43 million dollars. If suburban industries be included, Greensboro easily ranks fourth as an industrial center.

The census totals of all the cities of the state would be increased by including the nearby mills and factories beyond city limits, but with the exception named their relative rank would remain about the same.

The table below refers to the industrial products and the wage earners within city incorporation lines.

Rank	City	Products	Wage Earners
1.	Winston	\$200,485,000	14,030
2.	Durham	70,659,000	6,673
3.	Charlotte	43,096,000	5,906
4.	High Point	14,869,000	4,441
5.	Gastonia	12,013,000	3,100
6.	Wilmington	10,537,000	2,134
7.	Greensboro	7,458,000	1,930
8.	Asheville	7,091,000	1,313
9.	Raleigh	6,871,000	1,430
10.	New Bern	5,702,000	1,838
11.	Wilson	5,689,000	752
12.	Salisbury	5,127,000	1,144
13.	Rocky Mount	4,904,000	1,682
14.	Goldsboro	4,143,000	1,239
Total		\$398,644,000	47,612

The Changing Order

The Federal Census of Industries covering the year 1919 makes it clear that North Carolina is rapidly moving out of the hand-made, home-spun civilization of an agricultural state, into the machine-made civilization of an industrial-urban state—out of a simple into a complex social order.

To be sure a majority of the people of North Carolina still live in the country, but the ratio of country dwellers steadily dwindles. They increased in number during the last census period nine and a half percent while the city increase was fifty-four percent.

A majority of people of the state engaged in gainful occupations are still engaged in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, but the ratio decreases. Our farm workers decreased twenty-three percent in number during the last census period, but the workers in manufacturing and mechanical industries increased fifty-four percent.

Our cities are still few in number and small in size—only fourteen had ten thousand inhabitants or more in 1919, and only two, Winston-Salem and Charlotte, were near the fifty thousand mark; but the industrial-urban development of North Carolina is now so pronounced, and the way ahead is so clearly open to enterprisers, that the next quarter century will see the state mapped with the Great Industrial Area of the United States.

The changing order in North Carolina means great industries and great cities in rapidly multiplying number. It also means greater wealth and a greater concentration of wealth. Forty-eight persons in North Carolina enjoyed a net taxable income of more than nine million dollars in 1919, and they paid into the federal treasury more than four and a half million dollars of taxes. Which was nearly half of all the federal taxes paid on incomes in the entire state; also it was nearly twice as much money as all the general property tax payers of the state paid into the state treasury the same year.

The day of great fortunes is only just beginning in North Carolina. It is the inevitable result of urban-industrial expansion everywhere. If only wealth can be rightly related to weal, and the Commonwealth to the common weal, then we can have greater progress and less poverty, greater magnificence and less misery in our beloved mother state.

But it cannot be so if the state follows the immemorial way of aimless drift. The reasoned way is better and it is the task of the North Carolina Club to find it, if by diligent search it can be found by a thoughtful group of University students.

Manufacture in the United States

Covering factory systems in the year 1919. Based on the preliminary statement of the Census Bureau. Building trades, hand trades, and neighborhood industries excluded.

Department of Rural Social Science, University of North Carolina.

Rank	State	Value of Products	Rank	State	Value of Products
1.	New York.....	\$8,875,007,000	25.	Tennessee	\$556,253,000
2.	Pennsylvania	7,312,333,000	26.	Alabama	492,731,000
3.	Illinois	5,874,007,000	27.	West Virginia	471,871,000
4.	Ohio	5,100,299,000	28.	Maine	456,822,000
5.	Massachusetts	4,007,452,000	29.	New Hampshire	407,205,000
6.	New Jersey	3,686,775,000	30.	Oklahoma	401,363,000
7.	Michigan	3,447,984,000	31.	Kentucky	395,660,000
8.	California	1,981,410,000	32.	South Carolina	381,454,000
9.	Indiana	1,901,846,000	33.	Oregon	366,783,000
10.	Wisconsin	1,883,608,000	34.	Colorado	275,622,000
11.	Missouri	1,599,264,000	35.	Florida	213,327,000
12.	Connecticut	1,394,898,000	36.	Arkansas	200,313,000
13.	Minnesota	1,218,130,000	37.	Mississippi	197,747,000
14.	Texas	999,996,000	38.	Vermont	168,198,000
15.	North Carolina ...	943,808,000	39.	Montana	166,664,000
16.	Kansas	913,667,000	40.	Delaware	165,073,000
17.	Maryland	873,945,000	41.	Utah	156,933,000
18.	Washington	809,623,000	42.	Arizona	120,769,000
19.	Rhode Island	747,323,000	43.	Wyoming	81,445,000
20.	Iowa	745,473,000	44.	Idaho	80,511,000
21.	Georgia	693,556,000	45.	South Dakota	62,171,000
22.	Louisiana	676,190,000	46.	North Dakota	57,374,000
23.	Virginia	641,810,000	47.	Nevada	22,874,000
24.	Nebraska	596,042,000	48.	New Mexico	17,857,000

CHAPTER III

WEALTH AND LIVELIHOOD IN CAROLINA

E. C. BRANSON, UNIVERSITY FACULTY

Our New Wealth in 1919

The gross primary wealth produced in North Carolina in 1919 was a little more than one billion six hundred million dollars in round numbers.

It is almost exactly four times the volume of such wealth produced in the state in 1915. See the North Carolina Club Year-Book, *Wealth and Welfare in North Carolina*, pages 25-28.

It is almost exactly half the taxable wealth of the state in 1920, as shown in the revaluation figures of the State Tax Commission. Which is to say, in a single year we created one-half as much wealth as we were willing to put on our taxbooks after two hundred and fifty years of history.

The primary wealth created in North Carolina in 1919 averaged six hundred and twenty-one dollars per person, counting men, women, and children of both races. It was an average of more than three thousand dollars per family.

Counting out the cost of materials used in manufacture and the value of crops consumed by livestock, there is still left a total of more than one billion dollars of what can be called brand new wealth produced in North Carolina in 1919—the year covered by the 1920 census.

At this reduced figure our wealth-producing power averaged right around four hundred dollars per inhabitant, or two thousand dollars per family.

We speak of this wealth as primary, because it is (1) crude wealth produced by the farmers, foresters, miners, quarrymen, and fishers of the state, and (2) crude wealth put by our mills, factories and foundries into finished form for final consumption.

And the values put upon this wealth in the federal reports are farm and factory values ruling in December, 1919, a full four months after the slump in cotton prices. These huge totals are not the prices paid by final consumers. They do not cover price increases due to transportation and the services of tradespeople of all sorts. They cover the farm and factory values of economic commodities produced in North Carolina. They do not cover the values of economic services. These totals are therefore minimum figures. They represent primary, not secondary, wealth, else the totals would need to be doubled at the very least.

For the most part they are authoritative figures. Indeed they are all

authoritative except the value of livestock sold and slaughtered, the commercial output of our fisheries, and the value of our farm woodlot products. These particular figures are yet to come from the federal authorities at Washington. For the time being we are giving conservative estimates. Farm woodlot products, for instance, mean firewood, posts, sills, naval stores and the like. We put this total at twenty-two million dollars. It is not excessive, because the firewood cut alone has already been reported for the state at nineteen million dollars in 1919.

Holding Down Our Wealth

We say gross values rather than net values, because nobody knows the cost of producing this wealth, or what the net income of the state was in 1919.

It was small in agriculture: in our cotton areas, it was undoubtedly small or nothing at all or worse. It was larger in our tobacco counties, because tobacco prices held up somewhat longer and better than cotton prices.

On the other hand, net profits in the manufacturing industries of the state can be figured down almost to the last decimal, because cost-accounting is the rule in manufacture. In agriculture, it is everywhere the rare exception. The sad fact is that the farmers of the United States are not yet trained in business methods, as the Danish farmers are.

The mired wheel in the economic life of North Carolina is its agriculture, and it imperils every other business in the state as we are at last coming to see. But we are still far from considering the economic and social consequences of farm tenancy, the excessive cost of farm credit, the rapid descent of the state into small-scale farming, our deficiency in meat and milk animals, the decreasing per capita production of farm workers in contrast with the marvelous increase in per-acre and cash-crop totals, the sparse population in our farm areas, the lack of economic and social integration, organization and coöperation among our farm dwellers. And so on and on.

As a result we are great in farm-wealth creation. We are as weak as water in farm-wealth retention.

The Farmer's Share

Nevertheless, a vast volume of agricultural wealth is produced in North Carolina from year to year. And somebody gets it. The great problem is to move on into a system that will allow a righteous portion of it to stick to the palms that sweat it out. The farmer's share of the consumer's dollar is a picayune, and it is not likely ever to be larger until our farmers coöperate in business ways for business advantage as the California farmers have done.

The gross primary wealth of all sorts produced in North Carolina year by year must now be reckoned in billions, and these billions rank us among the first fifteen states of the Union. We are speaking of industrial wealth, farm and forest wealth of all sorts, and the output of our mines, quarries, and fisheries.

When the final state figures for manufacture are received we shall be ranking North Carolina among the industrial states just as we are today ranking North Carolina among the agricultural states of the Union.

The summary in detail of the new wealth created in North Carolina in 1919 is as follows:

Our New Wealth in 1919

Manufactured products, 1920 census.....	\$943,810,000
Farm crops, 1920 census.....	503,230,000
Livestock products—dairy products, chickens and eggs, wool and mohair, honey and wax, 1920 census.....	35,860,000
Livestock sold and slaughtered, estimated.....	40,000,000
Mines and quarries, 1920 census.....	2,745,000
Fisheries, estimated.....	3,000,000
Farm woodlot products, estimated.....	22,000,000
Forest products—lumber, laths, and shingles, 1920 census.....	50,000,000
Total.....	\$1,600,645,000

Livelihood in Carolina

More folks and fewer workers, 353 thousand more folks and 52 thousand fewer workers, a 134 thousand decrease of workers in country occupations and a 120 thousand increase of workers in city occupations, 11 thousand fewer folks engaged in domestic and personal service, cooks, housemaids, yard-men and the like—such in brief is the story of the occupational census of 1920 for North Carolina.

The occupational groups of the state in 1910 will be found in the University News Letter, Vol. 1, No. 8. A table of comparisons will be found at the close of this chapter. The 1920 details follow.

There were 2,560,000 people in North Carolina, in round numbers, in 1920. Nearly eighteen hundred thousand are ten years of age and over. Nearly one-half, or 48.6 percent, of this age group are engaged in gainful occupations outside the home, or 895,621 all told. Women engaged in household work in their own homes are not accounted by the census authorities as being gainfully employed.

The gainfully employed of the state are 52,218 fewer than in 1910—or so read the figures on January 1, 1920. Many of these people are going to school. The schools of all grades and types are everywhere fuller than

they have ever been before in North Carolina. Others are taking a holiday, perhaps. It seems to be the fashion of late.

Fewer Farm Workers

The people at work in agriculture and forestry number 477,543. This group of workers is 134,024 smaller than in 1910. Here is a sudden decrease of more than one-fifth or twenty-two percent of the farm workers of the state. It accounts for the 615,000 acres that have gone out of cultivation during the last census period. The country exodus is only just begun in North Carolina. The chances are that a still larger number of farm families will desert the countryside during the present census period.

The second largest occupational group in North Carolina is engaged in manufacture and mechanical industries. They number 211,019 workers, and the ten-year increase was 74,175 or 54 percent. This increase, in contrast with the decrease of farm workers, clearly shows the drift of our farm populations into the urban, industrial centers of the state.

On Tom Tiddler's Ground

The domestic and personal servants are 56,534, and they are nearly 11,000 fewer than in 1910—a decrease of sixteen percent. It is not news to anybody to say that cooks, house-girls, and yard-hands are taking a vacation. They are hard to get, hard to keep on their jobs, and still harder to pay. They are slated for hard times by the boll weevil. Another year or two and they will be glad to take any job they can get at almost any price anybody is willing to pay—in North Carolina as in the cotton states south of us. A multitude of people playing around on Tom Tiddler's ground will get down to work when the boll weevil gets busy in North Carolina.

The next largest group of workers in the state are the merchants and bankers. With their employees they number 52,931, an increase of 16,324 or forty-four percent during the last ten years.

The people engaged in transportation, mainly railway and street-car workers, number 36,331—an increase of 11,248 or forty-five percent.

The people engaged in professional service, doctors, teachers, preachers, lawyers, and the like, number 29,749. The ten-year increase is 12,536, or seventy-three percent.

Clerical workers, bookkeepers, cashiers, typewriters, stenographers, canvassers, agents, and the like, almost exactly doubled in number during the last ten years. The increase was from 10,249 to 20,509, or one hundred percent.

More Public Servants

Public office holders, local, state, and federal, are 9,003 instead of 2,600 in 1910. Here is the largest ratio of increase in the state—247 per cent.

The smallest occupational group in North Carolina are miners and quarrymen. They are 2,002 compared with 952 ten years ago.

It appears that farm workers in North Carolina still outnumber all other occupational groups combined, but also it appears that they are greatly diminished in number.

It is also clear that all other occupational groups except the miners and fishermen are city groups—that is to say, their occupations center in towns and cities. Their increase contributes to city growth, and city growth in North Carolina draws directly upon the surrounding country regions. This fact explains the fifty-four percent increase in urban population in North Carolina during the last ten years, in contrast with the nine and one-half percent increase in country population. Our city population increased nearly six times faster than our open country population during the last ten years.

A table of occupational increases and decreases follows.

Occupations in North Carolina in 1920

Based on the 1910 Census and Press Summaries of the 1920 Census.

Increase in population, 352,836; decrease in workers outside the home 52,218. The ratio of total population engaged in gainful occupations fell from 43 to 35 percent. The ratio of workers ten years old and over fell from 60 to 48.6 percent. Similar details show for the United States as a whole.

The figures cover both races and sexes, ten years and over, engaged in gainful occupations outside the home.

Occupation Groups	1920	1910	Ten Year Increase	Pct. Inc.
1. Agriculture and forestry.....	477,543	611,567	—134,024	—22
2. Mftre. and mechanic industries	211,019	136,844	74,175	54
3. Domestic and personal service..	56,534	67,223	—10,689	—16
4. Trade and banking.....	52,931	36,607	16,324	44
5. Transportation	36,331	25,083	11,248	45
6. Professional service—doctors, teachers, lawyers, preachers....	29,749	17,213	12,536	73
7. Clerical occupations — cashiers bookkeepers, stenographers, can- vassers, etc.....	20,509	10,249	10,260	100
8. Public service—office holders....	9,003	2,600	6,403	247
9. Miners and quarrymen.....	2,002	952	1,050	110
Grand total of workers.....	895,621	947,839	—52,218	—6
Population of state.....	2,559,123	2,206,287	352,836	16
Ratio of workers to total popu- lation	35	43	....	—8
Ratio of workers to population ten years old and over.....	48.6	60	....	—11.4

CHAPTER IV

URBAN CAROLINA IN 1920

E. C. BRANSON, UNIVERSITY FACULTY

Urban Carolina concerns 731,123 people living (1) in 413 incorporated small-towns with fewer than twenty-five hundred inhabitants each, and (2) in fifty-five cities with more than twenty-five hundred inhabitants each. The line between towns and cities is drawn by the census authorities at 2,500 inhabitants and, if unincorporated, small-town populations are counted as rural.

More than a fourth or 28.6 percent of the people of North Carolina now live under town and city conditions, as (1) consumers not producers of the raw materials necessary to existence and to manufacture and (2) with overhead local machinery for self-rule and self-expression in behalf of economic, social, and civic advantages.

Countryside Carolina

The dwellers in the open country of the state, outside incorporated places of any sort or size whatsoever, number 1,828,000 or 71.4 percent of our total population. But not all these country dwellers are farmers. Almost exactly a fourth of them are foresters, miners, quarrymen, fishermen and wage-earners in numerous unincorporated mill and factory villages in country or suburban areas. The farmers with their families number 1,376,000 souls, while all other people in the country areas of North Carolina number 452,000. In the main the daily work of country dwellers is the production of the raw materials necessary for existence and for manufacture. The essential economic difference between rural and urban populations is this: country dwellers are producers of raw materials, while town people are consumers or transformers of raw materials, and distributors of finished economic products as brokers and merchants.

The farmers of the state produce crude wealth as individuals or as family groups settled in solitary dwellings scattered throughout forty-nine thousand square miles—seven dwellings to the square mile on an average the state over, and fewer than four to the square mile in eight counties, both races counted. They lack community life and overhead local machinery for self-rule, self-expression, and self-protection. They produce, sell, and buy as individuals without adequate organization. They dump their wares on the market at the end of the harvest seasons instead of merchandizing their products throughout the year as the mills and factories are able to do; and only recently have they begun to organize on any large scale in

North Carolina for business advantages. They dwell in isolation and insulation more or less complete; which explains the static or stagnant social areas in the remote country counties of North Carolina.

In brief, seven of every ten people, on an average, still dwell in the open country of North Carolina. Which means that seven of every ten voters belong to country precincts, that seven-tenths of the people of the state are served, if served at all, by country churches, that seven-tenths of our school population must take their chances in the country schools such as they are. It also explains why more than nine-tenths of all the white illiteracy of the state is country illiteracy.

More Country Dwellers

And the country population of North Carolina did not decrease as in twenty-four other states of the Union during the last ten years; on the contrary it steadily increases from decade to decade, and the increases are due almost entirely to the virility and fecundity of our country people, white and black—to the excess of births over deaths, and not to immigration as in the western states. Manifestly our native white country people are a hardy, not a decadent stock, as in the North and East. The fact is, we lead the entire United States in cradles and baby carriages, with a birth rate of 31.6 per 1000 inhabitants, against 23.7 in the total registration area, and 28.2 in South Carolina, our nearest competitor.

But while the country population of the state as a whole was increasing 9.5 percent during the last ten years, nineteen country counties and 308 country townships suffered population decreases ranging from one to thirty-one percent. Nearly a fifth of all our counties and nearly a third of all our townships lost population in 1910-20. Almost without exception they are remote and lonely country counties, or remote and lonely country townships in wideawake counties. In the main their population losses are due (1) to sparsity of population, poor roads, and poor schools, (2) to inability to organize for business and social advantages, and (3) to the attractions of industrial and urban centers with their offers of livelier existence, and larger amounts of wage money for weekly fingerling.

The nineteen dwindling country counties of the state and their ten-year losses of country population are Alleghany 4.4 percent, Camden 4.8 percent, Carteret 31.3 percent, Chowan 5.8 percent, Currituck 5.5 percent, Haywood 0.5 percent, Hyde 5.1 percent, Iredell 2.2 percent, Lee 8.4 percent, Lincoln 16.5 percent, Madison 0.7 percent, Montgomery 2.4 percent, Pamlico 9.1 percent, Pender 4.4 percent, Randolph 4.0 percent, Richmond 2.2 percent, Rowan 8.9 percent, Scotland 15.7 percent, and Tyrrell 7.1 percent.

The 308 dwindling townships lie in ninety of our one hundred counties. The state over, there were only ten counties that did not have one or more townships decreasing in population during the last ten years. Forty-

one counties lost population in a third or more of all their townships. See the table that closes this chapter.

Fewer Farmers

The loss of population in a farm area means diminishing incomes from rented farms, diminishing land values, diminishing chances to secure renters or to sell land at any price, a larger number of wilderness acres, and a dwindling agriculture. It also means poorly supported country schools and churches, less ability to build public highways and to finance public health service, and a smaller opportunity to organize for self-defensive marketing purposes. And further, it means decaying towns with less business and smaller profits for merchants and bankers, as well as smaller chances to sell town lots and to rent stores and dwelling houses. In short, it means static or stagnant social areas, lacking highway and railroad facilities, lacking nearby market towns and ready money, lacking bank facilities and newspaper service, school advantages, and stimulating outlook in general. This is the state of affairs in nineteen country counties and 308 country townships in ninety counties of North Carolina today. The white people in these areas are an unmixed native stock, and all in all there are no better country people in the world, but they are fleeing out of drowsy conditions, and it is the young, alert, and ambitious who go, leaving behind the old folks, the unalert, and the unaspiring. But even more to be considered is the fact that they are leaving the negroes behind in our most fertile farm regions, for in 1920 as in 1910 the negroes are sticking to the farm better than the whites.

And while the open-country areas of the state were increasing 159,000 in general population and our farms were gaining 16,000 in number, we were losing 135,146 farmers and farm workers, and 615,000 acres were passing out of cultivation. And moreover the cultivated farm land of the state was dropping from 4 to 3.2 acres per inhabitant. Over against a decrease of 23 percent in the number of farm workers must be placed other population increases as follows—city increase 54 percent, factory workers and mechanics 54 percent, traders and bankers 44 percent, transporters 45 percent, professional people 73 percent, clerical workers 100 percent, and office holders, local, state, and federal, 247 percent.

The Cityward Drift

The following table gives a bird's-eye view of the bread-winning groups in North Carolina in 1920, ten years of age and over, with their increases and decreases during the last ten years.

Increases	
Population increase, 352,836.....	16%
City increase, 171,896.....	54%
Small-town increase, 22,271.....	9.1%

Open-country increase, 158,669.....	9.5%
Office holders, increase—local, state, and federal 6,403.....	247%
Miners and quarrymen, increase 1,050.....	110%
Clerical workers—bookkeepers, cashiers, stenographers, agents etc., increase 10,260.....	100%
Professional workers—doctors, teachers, preachers, lawyers, etc., increase 12,534.....	73%
Mill and factory workers, mechanics, etc., increase 74,175.....	54%—
Transportation workers, railroad, street railway employees, etc., in- crease 11,248.....	45%
Merchants and bankers, increase 16,324.....	44%

Decreases

Farmers and foresters, decrease 135,146.....	23%
Domestic and personal servants, decrease 10,589.....	15%
All workers, decrease 52,218.....	6%

Push-and-Pull Forces

A mere glance at the details of the preceding table shows that the increase of open-country population in the state during the last census period did not consist of farmers and their folks, but mainly of mill villagers in country areas and of dwellers in unincorporated small-towns, of which there is an uncommonly large number in North Carolina. It also discloses the combined attractive and propulsive causes involved in the progressive urbauization of North Carolina since 1880, the outstanding initial date of our industrial development.

Farm populations are driven out of our country regions as though fired out of a catapult—driven by humdrum loneliness and unrelieved monotony, by the hardships of small profits or no profits at all in farming as a business in average years, by poor roads, poor schools, and poorly supported churches, by inadequate medical service at well-nigh prohibitive prices, and so on and on. At the same time they are attracted into our industrial-urban centers by the lure of the crowds, by the glittering show windows and entrancing film pictures, by the weekly wage envelope, by the chance to finger larger sums of money than they ever before dreamed of, and even more by the chance to spend money for things they never before dreamed of possessing in all their lives.

So much for the combined effect of the push-and-pull forces that play upon deep-seated human instincts. It is the inevitable result of developing industrialism in every country of Christendom. Factory industries produce cities—more cities and larger cities than ever before in the history of the world. A modern city is essentially a manufacturing center—this, first of all; and the more extensive and varied the industries the larger the opportunities for trade, transportation, banking business, commercialized amuse-

ments, professional, clerical, domestic, and personal workers, caterers, and the like. A community without manufacturing industries may be a country market town of small proportions, a local trade, shipping, and banking center, and all in all an attractive residence place, as Wilmington for instance; but without factory enterprises steadily multiplying in number and size it cannot hope to lead in population increases. For instance, forty years ago Wilmington was the largest city in North Carolina—with nearly twice the population of Raleigh, nearly three times that of Charlotte, and more than four times that of Winston and Salem combined. Today it stands not first but third in population, in North Carolina. Like New Bern it has just about doubled its number of inhabitants during the last four decades, while six lively manufacturing centers have increased in population in ratios that range from ten to fifty-four fold.

Leading Carolina Cities

The following table tells the story of increasing populations since 1880 in our fourteen cities with 10,000 inhabitants or more in 1920:

Cities	40 Year Increase percents	Pop. 1920	Pop. 1880
1. Gastonia	5,354	12,871	236
2. Rocky Mount	2,208	12,742	552
3. High Point	1,343	14,302	991
4. Winston-Salem	1,054	48,395	4,194
5. Asheville	990	28,504	2,616
6. Durham	964	21,719	2,041
7. Greensboro	844	19,861	2,105
8. Wilson	619	10,612	1,475
9. Charlotte	553	46,338	7,094
10. Salisbury	410	13,884	2,723
11. Goldsboro	244	11,296	3,286
12. Raleigh	164	24,418	9,265
13. Wilmington	92	33,372	17,350
14. New Bern	89	12,198	6,443

These fourteen larger cities absorbed nearly half the total population increase of the entire state during the last ten years, and their ratios of growth are almost exactly in keeping with their ratios of industrial expansion. Since 1900 we have doubled the number of our factory establishments and wage-earning employees, and we have multiplied by ten or more both the capital employed and the volume of goods turned out. The effect upon city increases of population is direct and prodigious.

During these twenty years the ratio of country dwellers dropped from 82.3 to 71.4 percent of the total population. Ten years ago North Carolina was being urbanized more rapidly than thirty-six other states of the Union. Our city population increase during 1900-1910 was more than four

times the rate of country increase, and in only twelve states were the ratios greater. But in 1910-20 our city population increase was nearly six times the rate of our country population increase, and the chances are that in still fewer states were the ratios of city increase greater. (The 1920 census figures, we may say, are not yet available for all the states.)

It thus becomes clear that while North Carolina is still rural in population, we are rapidly ceasing to be a rural people, that we are moving with rapid strides out of ruralism into industrial urbanism—in population, in livelihood, in wealth production, concentration, and domination.

Our Little Country Towns

A city, or a small town with prospects of growing into city proportions, sits upon a four-legged stool, so to speak, and the legs of this stool are (1) farming and other country occupations that produce raw materials, (2) manufacture, (3) trade and transportation, and (4) banking. And it sits insecurely if any one of these supports be infirm.

A country market town sits upon a three-legged stool and the legs of it are (1) the surrounding countryside, (2) trade, and (3) banking. And it sits insecurely if its back-country is an agricultural area diminishing in population or in prosperity—if its attitude toward the trade territory be indifferent or supercilious, or exacting and grasping—if it is content to take interest from farmers rather than interest in farmers—if it is unconcerned about progress and prosperity in the nearby country regions, in better country roads, better country schools, and better supported country churches—if its tax moneys go to support its own schools, libraries, and public health activities, with little or no thought of sharing these freely with the country homes round-about—if its banks be of the spider-web instead of the honey-bee variety. Large or small, no town or city can grow fat in a lean countryside. Neither individuals nor communities can safely live unto themselves alone.

Here and there, in this and every other state, are small towns that are trying to balance on two-legged stools of this sort—a feat that only acrobats are equal to. With the farm leg gone, they are teetering on trade and banking as town supports. They are towns without an economic basis in agriculture or manufacture—in which, as the wits say, everybody tries to make a living by taking in everybody else's washing. We found towns of this sort in the Berkshire hills last fall, and we have such towns in increasing number in North Carolina and the South.

Census Danger Signals

Of course they fail, and the 1920 census tells the story of failure in detail.

They fail to grow in population. When country people desert the farm, they do not often move into drab and dreary little towns, half-awake,

half-asleep, half-alive, half-dead. They go over these unattractive little places, with a hop-skip-and-jump, into brisk and lively mill or city centers in North Carolina and in every other state. The cities grew during the last ten years, but not the little towns, as a rule. Four of our industrial centers almost exactly doubled in population during this period, and fifteen little places developed factory enterprises and moved up into the rank of census-size cities. Meantime our 413 small towns increased in population only 22,271 all told—which means an average increase of five inhabitants apiece per year. Ninety-five or nearly a fourth of the total did not increase at all—they “swunk like Sambo’s catfish.” And nearly a third of the dwindling little towns had fewer inhabitants in 1920 than they had in 1850.

They fail to grow in business. With the housing problem acute in wide-awake centers everywhere, witness the empty stores and dwellings in thirty-odd little towns in North Carolina—towns that are manifestly down-at-the-heels and out-at-the-elbows.

They fail to grow in civic pride and enterprise. Witness the thirty-nine little places in North Carolina that surrendered their town charters and faded from the map during the last ten years, and among them were some of the oldest settlements in the state.

Some years ago Charles Edgeworth Jones wrote a sketch entitled, *The Dead Towns of Georgia*. The dead towns of North Carolina are now inviting the attention of historians. The new century already records an alarming list of dead, wounded, and missing municipalities in this and other states.

Small-Town Functions

Our little towns are set between the two horns of a dilemma: they must definitely determine to be choice residence centers on the one hand or to develop factory enterprises on the other. Most of them never can be and never ought to be industrial centers; but all of them can be the happiest places on earth to live in and to rear children in safely. They must begin to function properly in sheer self-defense. That is to say, they must be pridefully related to themselves and helpfully related to the surrounding trade areas, or they must dwindle and disappear as the state moves faster and faster into an industrial-urban civilization.

The University is therefore offering to the 248,000 people in the 413 little country market towns of the state two courses, one on Small-Town Planning, and the other on Small-Town Relations to Trade Territories. And it will offer these courses in vain unless the attention of the state can be fastened upon them.

The proper functioning of our small towns is equally important to the country people of North Carolina, (1) because they need convenient market centers where they can turn into instant ready cash farm products

of every sort—not cotton and tobacco alone, (2) because they need to move into these little centers out of the loneliness of sparsely settled areas, and to live there not as store-keepers, bankers, and rent collectors, but as farmers busy with farming on nearby farms, as in the old world countries, (3) because our country civilization must develop community life and organization or it must inevitably fall into decay.

These little places must be captured by our farmers and turned into farm centers—not into trade and banking centers merely but into farm communities busy primarily with farming as a business. It is the easiest way out. And a way out must be found, for eighteen hundred thousand people will not forever dwell in solitary sort, a few families to the square mile, in a vast expanse of fifty thousand square miles. The present state of affairs in the country regions of the state cannot last forever. It is a denial of a fundamental human instinct—the craving for companionship. Our country people were lonely before but they were not acutely aware of it until rural free deliveries, automobiles, and country telephones aroused them out of social apathy. The cityward drift is already strong in nineteen country counties and 308 country townships, and the numbers will greatly increase as the state moves on into a belated but vigorous industrial-urban era. Townspeople and country dwellers in the cotton counties of the state are unbelievably stupid, if they cannot or will not give themselves to economic and social stock-taking long before the approaching boll-weevil depopulates farm areas and destroys the business of farmers, traders, and bankers, alike; or so at least for a while—a while that seems like an eternity to the sufferers. It is the boll-weevil way everywhere.

A Main Matter

It is not important for a town or a city to be big and rich. A city can be big without being great. It can be rich in fact and miserly in spirit. But it is important—mainly important—whatever its size, for a city to be sound and wholesome to the core. Large or small, a great city is a clean place for children to be born in, a safe place for boys and girls to grow up in, and a happy place for men and women to live in and work in. And no other place is great, no matter what its population or its wealth. Country market town or city industrial center, its main business is to be the choicest residence spot on the globe.

It is a civic ideal that calls for a home-owning, home-loving, home-defending citizenship, freely willing to invest tax moneys in community enterprises for the common good—in schools, libraries, public health activities, parks and playgrounds, in public utilities, and civic advantages both for the city itself and for the trade territory that sustains it. It means taxes equably levied and efficiently expended for community ends and aims. It means fair dealing and neighborly relationships. It means

pride in community appearances and achievements. It means the sponging out of slums and plague spots. It means a thousand things that signify nothing to men who innocently or wittingly are so absorbed in private affairs and businesses that they have neither time nor taste for community concerns however urgent.

The Look Ahead

Does the drift of country populations into the industrial-urban centers of North Carolina promise good or ill for the state? Is our civilization moving ahead in the right direction? Is ours at present a well balanced civilization? Has it long been too rural and too little urban? Does the state need more and larger cities and a smaller farm population?

These are important inquiries, but they cannot be fully considered within the limits of this brief study. Instead, the following propositions are submitted—not as conclusions but rather as subjects for debate.

First. Well or ill, the cityward drift will continue. It is not a local but a world-wide movement. The problem is not to turn people back to the farm or to keep people from leaving the farm, but to make farm life efficient, prosperous, satisfying and wholesome for country-minded people who choose to live in the country. There are now and will always be many country-minded people in every state and nation, but at present they are being driven out of the country by unendurable conditions, economic and social.

Second. If these conditions cannot be cured, and in the main they must be cured by the country people themselves, then country life in North Carolina will fall into decay as in the New England and the North Atlantic states. The industrial supremacy of this area is now imperiled by the decline of agriculture. As a result eastern factories are being moved into regions of larger food production and lower food costs. Meantime New England manufacturers are spending millions of corporation money for agricultural rehabilitation in the Eastern States.

Third. So far in our history, we have had too many producers of farm products, and too few local consumers. Our towns and cities have been too few and too small to furnish ready, profitable markets for any farm products but cotton and tobacco, and in average years the demand for these in the markets of the world reduces the net income of our farmers to the lowest possible terms. The way out lies, in bread-and-meat farming, and (2) a larger consuming public at home, (3) with cotton and tobacco as surplus crops for local and for world-wide consumption.

In a word, North Carolina is now and has always been too rural and too little urban. Two-thirds of our wealth-producers are farmers. In the United States as a whole the ratio is one-third, and it is not an unsafe ratio, the balancing of forces considered. A smaller ratio than this is

perilous for manufacture as well as agriculture, as both Old and New England are now discovering—and discovering too late.

Keeping civilization on even keel is the most important question this state can consider. Which means that rural social economics and political economy are one in North Carolina, and that an ounce of either is worth a whole ton of politics.

Townships Losing Population 1910-20

Arranged by counties, showing (1) the percent of such townships in each county, and (2) the number losing population. The total number of townships in North Carolina is 1016. The townships counted out because they lost territory during 1910-20 were 31 in number. Sixteen townships in Hoke and Avery are also counted out because there are no 1910 census figures for these counties.

Of the remaining 969 townships 308 lost population during the last census period or nearly 32 percent. Which means that nearly one of every three townships in North Carolina suffered population losses 1910-20.

Based on the 1920 Census Bulletin on Population

Department of Rural Social Science, University of North Carolina

Rank	County	% twps. losing pop.	No. twps. losing pop.	Rank	County	% twps. losing pop.	No. twps. losing pop.
1	Cumberland	0	0	22	Yadkin	11.1	1
1	Gaston	0	0	24	Anson	12.5	1
1	Greene	0	0	25	Nash	13.3	2
1	Jones	0	0	26	Richmond	14.3	1
1	New Hanover	0	0	27	Harnett	15.4	2
1	Orange	0	0	27	Duplin	15.4	2
1	Sampson	0	0	29	Brunswick	16.7	1
1	Wayne	0	0	29	Carteret	16.7	2
1	Wilson	0	0	29	Halifax	16.7	2
1	Yancey	0	0	26	Pasquotank	16.7	1
11	Robeson	4.0	1	33	McDowell	18.2	2
12	Guilford	5.6	1	34	Wilkes	19.0	4
13	Johnston	5.9	1	35	Clay	20.0	1
14	Edgecombe	7.1	1	35	Franklin	20.0	2
14	Forsyth	7.1	1	35	Stanly	20.0	2
16	Alamance	7.7	1	38	Wake	21.1	4
16	Pitt	7.7	1	39	Buncombe	21.4	3
18	Cabarrus	8.3	1	39	Columbus	21.4	3
18	Lenoir	8.3	1	41	Caswell	22.2	2
20	Rockingham	9.1	1	41	Granville	22.2	2
21	Martin	10.0	1	41	Union	22.2	2
22	Moore	11.1	1	41	Vance	22.2	2

Rank	County	% twps. losing pop.	No. twps. losing pop.
45	Watauga	23.1	3
46	Henderson	25.0	2
46	Scotland	25.0	1
46	Swain	25.0	1
46	Transylvania	25.0	2
46	Warren	25.0	3
46	Washington	25.0	1
52	Durham	28.6	2
52	Lee	28.6	2
54	Mitchell	30.0	3
54	Randolph	30.0	6
56	Bertie	33.3	3
56	Craven	33.3	3
56	Dare	33.3	2
56	Hertford	33.3	2
56	Northampton	33.3	3
56	Person	33.3	3
56	Polk	33.3	2
63	Rowan	35.7	5
63	Surry	35.7	5
65	Caldwell	38.5	5
66	Bladen	40.0	6
66	Perquimans	40.0	2
66	Tyrrell	40.0	2
69	Burke	41.7	5
70	Davie	42.9	3
70	Gates	42.9	3

Rank	County	% twps. losing pop.	No. twps. losing pop.
72	Iredell	43.8	7
73	Stokes	44.4	4
74	Cleveland	45.5	5
74	Macon	45.5	5
76	Chatham	46.2	6
76	Haywood	46.2	6
78	Davidson	47.1	8
79	Beaufort	50.0	3
79	Catawba	50.0	4
79	Chowan	50.0	2
79	Currituck	50.0	2
79	Madison	50.0	8
79	Rutherford	50.0	7
85	Ashe	53.3	8
85	Jackson	53.3	8
87	Hyde	60.0	3
87	Lincoln	60.0	3
87	Mecklenburg	60.0	9
87	Montgomery	60.0	6
87	Onslow	60.0	3
92	Cherokee	66.6	4
92	Graham	66.6	2
94	Alleghany	71.4	5
95	Alexander	75.0	6
96	Pender	80.0	8
97	Camden	100.0	3
97	Pamlico	100.0	5

CHAPTER V

THE CITYWARD DRIFT IN CAROLINA

C. J. WILLIAMS, CABARRUS COUNTY

The Facts

The movement of country populations cityward is not peculiar to North Carolina. What is true in this state is equally true of almost every other state and nation in the world. The rapid increase of city populations at the expense of the country districts is a world-wide characteristic of modern civilization. A few countries, like Denmark, France, and Switzerland, enjoy a well-balanced civilization. That is to say, in population, occupation, wealth production and accumulation, and in political representation and influence, town and country civilizations are safely balanced. But not so in most other countries of the world; not so in Old and New England, where manufacture has well-nigh destroyed country culture, and not so in the South where excessive ruralism has long delayed the development of industrial city civilization.

The 1920 census showed an actual decrease of rural population in exactly 24 states of the Union. For a hundred years the ratio of country dwellers had been steadily decreasing, but never before have the farm populations actually decreased. The 1920 census shows a decrease of one million seven hundred thousand farm workers in the United States. In North Carolina the decrease was 135,000 or twenty-three percent during the last census period.

What does it mean? It means in a word that farming as an occupation is shrinking in proportions. It does not necessarily mean that the standards of living on the farm are lower, but it does mean that farm life has not kept pace with the growth and development of American cities.

However, let us come closer home. In 1910 our state was being urbanized faster than 36 other states of the Union and since that date the cityward drift in Carolina was greatly accelerated by the war-time development of our industries. During the recent census decade our total population increase was 352,836 inhabitants or 16 percent; of whom 171,896 went into our 55 cities of census rank; 158,669 remained in the open country, and 22,271 moved into our 413 little towns of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants each. Twenty years ago our country dwellers were 82 percent of our total population, but now they are only 71 percent. In other words, while our country population was increasing less than 10 percent our cities were increasing at a 54 percent rate. Our sparsely settled counties decreased in population more than 11,000, while the more densely

populated counties absorbed the entire country increase, mainly the hill counties of the industrial area. Nineteen counties that could least afford it decreased in country population. Fifty counties had a retarded increase of only 93,000—that is, their increases were less than the natural increases due to excess of births over deaths; while 31 counties absorbed 77 percent of the total increase of the entire state.

We might say that the state is better off because of this move towards a better balancing of our economic life, but 19 individual counties have certainly suffered immense losses. In particular, the tidewater counties of the east and the mountain area in the west have both sacrificed their native born to the Goddess of Getting-On, as Ruskin would say.

The Causes and Consequences

What are the causes and consequences of these drifts and eddies of population in North Carolina? They are closely related for the most part, but for simplicity I want to classify these causes into economic and social. Many country people have become despondent over crop prices and prospects. If they had talked the situation over with their neighbors and made arrangements to store their cotton, tobacco, and corn, and to borrow the necessary money to carry them safely through the period of low prices, they might have held their own instead of throwing up their hands in despair and fleeing into city and factory centers. The weekly pay roll of the factories has spoiled more farmers than low prices for farm products. Farmers are too willing to leave the long farm day for the regular work day in the mill with a specified weekly reward. The cotton mills of this state are able to pay a living wage based on the day's labor. The farmer must figure on a living based on the year's labor, on long hours in some seasons, on short hours in other seasons, and abundant leisure during other seasons. But, if based on the average work and wage per day the year around, he can hardly afford to leave the farm. Besides he must consider what the farm itself contributes to his living in house-rent, fuel, fruits and vegetables. It was \$428 per farm family in Gaston county in 1913. It ran around \$1000 per family in 1920. Rent, fuel, fruit and vegetables must all be paid for in cold cash when he moves into city mill centers, and it reduces his annual labor income to zero as a rule. He would be better off on the farm, but he is not easily able to figure out this fact. However, the factory system carefully relieves the improvident farmer from worrying a year ahead of time. He is saved from the embarrassment of borrowing to make a first payment on a farm of his own. Six thousand farmers rose into farm ownership in North Carolina during 1910-20 in some such fashion. As long as he stays in the country the chances at farm ownership are two to one in his favor. In the cities the chances are three to one against home ownership. In mill villages home ownership is at present impossible in North Carolina.

But tenants are not the only farmers who are going into city and factory centers. Farm owners have sold their farms and established themselves in the towns, cities, and mill villages of the state. Part of this is for social reasons, but farmers are oftentimes shrewd business men. For instance, I know two old homesteaders who sold their home places at fancy prices while money was abundant and cheap. They banked the money, and when times changed they bought their old home places back for half of their money in the bank. As a rule, however, the farmer's money seeks other investments, say in automobiles or grocery stores. It seldom goes to buy the old farm back. Country-born youngsters often desire fast city life rather than dreary farm life. They realize that more money is necessary for this and that more money is to be handled in the city. And putting two and two together, they more and more decide to work out their destinies in the noise and glamor of city centers.

But social causes must also be considered. Parents often move into the city to send their children to better schools. But in my opinion the assets of the best city schools do not balance the liabilities that the children suffer. It is impossible to choose the playmates of the children on city school grounds. It is said that birds of a feather flock together, but many country boys in city schools would have their feathers plucked, if their mothers knew who they were chumming with. The complex social life of the city certainly has its problems, among which probably the most outstanding are those of the playground. Merely a place to play provided with a complete outfit is not sufficient. It is not the city life for children that persuades parents to move out of the country, but the material advantages which they seek to fill the family coffers. It falls upon city authorities as a solemn duty to create places of wholesome recreation. A paid physical director should be kept to draw out the essential virtues that are developed by clean sportsmanship. Fathers are bringing their children to the cities, and these cities must not neglect careful training in well supervised public playgrounds; if they do, they may as well begin at once to enlarge their juvenile courts. Prearranged playground prevention is more effective than policemen, courts, and jails, in my opinion.

The sensational attractions of the theaters and picture-show houses have their effect upon large numbers of people, especially the younger set. Which brings us to say, that it is the reaction against the solitariness of farm life which carries country people into high-tensioned city life. As the waters of the sea pursue the silver moon, just so do young people pursue the amusements and dissipations of city life. But deep down in their hearts they are trying to solve their problems of life alone: for whom can they trust? The glitter soon fades away, and life becomes drudgery. But for the indifference that seizes them, they would in many instances turn back to the old-time life of the country.

But men and women alike are fascinated by the life of large cities

and they do not turn back as a rule. Instead they follow the siren note of pleasure, often even to dissipation and degradation. City leaders are commonly country-born, but for every country-born leader there are a hundred country-born failures in the cities of the world.

I do not have any great faith in the back-to-the-farm movement that the papers talk about. Men are not going back to an isolated life in a deserted region. They have become accustomed to city noises and emotions. The only way to re-populate farm areas is to keep the young people there by making country life efficient, prosperous, satisfying, and wholesome.

But do we actually need more farmers in this state? Four hundred and sixty-three thousand farmers and farm-workers in North Carolina cultivate 8,200,000 acres. In Iowa half as many farm workers cultivate three times as many acres. Which means that one worker in Iowa cultivates six times as many acres as one worker in North Carolina. What we need is larger farms—not smaller, more home-owning farmers, more farm machinery and more horse-power, more acres per worker, larger crops per acre, larger yields per worker, lower production costs, wider margins of profits, and greater country wealth. Our farmers need to coöperate to sell their products, as well as to purchase their supplies. The old civilization of sparsely settled areas must disappear. Farmers must develop community life, and they must coöperate for business advantage and social progress. It is merely obeying the law of nature; In union there is strength. If the farmers of North Carolina were half as many as at present they might still serve the pressing necessities of our commonwealth.

Briefly I must analyze the future possibilities of this balanced economic life. Country communities are of course going to be hurt, if they lose many citizens. Country schools, churches, roads, and all of the vital things connected with the welfare of the neighborhood will be set back. And certainly the cities have their problems which will need careful attention. But neither the densely populated city nor the sparsely inhabited rural district furnishes the ideal situation. If one-third of our people lived in small towns, and an equal number lived in cities, while the last third dwelt on the farms, we should have, as some very prominent authorities say, an ideal division of our population. However, we cannot arbitrarily arrange the occupations and living conditions of independent families. They are where they are because of economic more than social reasons.

Shall we attempt to develop trade, banking, and manufacture in every small town? The capitalist hesitates to invest in small towns, because little disturbances stop his plant, whereas in larger cities the workers would be numerous enough to insure him against a labor shortage. Community life would be better in the ideal town than in the congested city, but as a rule the sanitary conditions of small towns are deplorable.

Let us suppose that social and sanitary conditions are all good, would it be well to attempt this three-fold balanced life by introducing manufacture into every small town? The supply of labor would be limited. Very few people employed in manufacture desire to work in small towns at the same wage. Their affiliations with secret orders and labor unions would be embarrassed. The living cost is seldom less in small towns, where competition is almost unknown. It is difficult to perfect the social and sanitary conditions of small communities. All of which means that the ideal small town is rare. The consolidated country school is perhaps a more hopeful nucleating center of country community life than the small town can ever be. We need country communities with superior school and church advantages. We need small towns as trade and banking centers, with high school facilities open to all the county. We need more and larger cities, as consuming centers for everything the farmers can produce. But these changes in our social structure will come along gradually under the pressure of realized necessity by the masses of the state.

The school is an institution that draws neighbors closer together than any other. Men unite to build a schoolhouse, who would not belong to the same church. It is the tie that binds. The future of American independence—its life, liberty, freedom, and equality of opportunity, all depend upon the school life of children today.

We need not be overly anxious about the young people on the farm, if we teach them what they need to know in order to realize the largest possibilities of their natures, and to reap the largest rewards of farming as a mode of life. The wrecks of the cityward drift are a far larger problem in these days of developing urbanism.

On the whole, there is little doubt that the advantages and attractions of the city far outweigh its drawbacks for the average twentieth century individual. After he has become accustomed to urban life, any other existence seems tame and colorless, even though his city home be located in a congested slum. This fact is strikingly illustrated by the experience of factory managers who have endeavored to gather a working force from neighboring city centers. They quickly learn that wage earners are unwilling to relinquish the delights of city residence, or that they drift back to their old city haunts.

City people moving into the country to work in the mornings, and moving back at night to their homes in the city is rare in America—rare in any country. And equally rare in America is the spectacle of city workers living in country homes going in and out to city jobs daily, as in Belgium.

It is significant of the great change that has taken place in the relative importance of the country, that rural districts are now recognized as having their own problems, and that a special branch of sociology has been developed to study them. And it is with pride that we name the

University of North Carolina as leading the South in Rural Social Economics courses.

What with its general attractiveness, and much more with its economic necessity, the great city in North Carolina has undoubtedly come to stay, and it will exert an increasingly dominant influence upon the social life of coming generations.

This has not been a final study of the cityward drift in North Carolina, but the work will not be in vain if it suggests to our club the importance of better balancing our town and country civilizations, whether it means more farmers or fewer farmers with better machinery.

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Oct. 18, 1920.

CHAPTER VI

THE SMALL TOWN IN NORTH CAROLINA

L. D. MARTIN, VIRGINIA

Between the mountains and the plains, there is a strip which is neither, but which possesses the characteristics of both, just as between boyhood and manhood there is a period taking on the characteristics of both. Likewise, a study of the distribution of population in the state shows a similar middle ground. Therefore it no longer suffices to stamp a person as from the country or from the city. Should this error be made nearly one-tenth of the people of the United States would not be included. They belong neither to the country nor to the city; they belong to the small-towns, whose citizens number ten millions in the United States, and they have characteristics of both city and country.

For convenience of study these lesser aggregations have been designated as small-towns. There has been not a little debate over what should constitute a maximum size for the small town, but at present it is pretty well agreed that when a town reaches 2,500 inhabitants it possesses urban characteristics for the most part, and should be classified as a city. So the census authorities have decided.

This small-town, serving as a buffer civilization set between the aggressive city and the conservative countryside, is the subject of this study. According to the 1920 census 9.3 percent of the population of the entire United States live in incorporated small-towns, or some ten million people all told. In North Carolina the proportion runs a little higher, the ratio being 9.4 percent, or 241,000 people in round numbers.

It is evident that these towns have clean-cut problems of their own, the solution of which requires a careful and thorough study of small-town peculiarities. To ignore our small-town problems is to ignore the intimate concerns of nearly one-tenth of all the people of the state.

Are these towns increasing in number? A comparison of the census reports for 1910 and 1920 shows that they are not; on the contrary they decreased from 414 to 413, during the census period. However, the fact that fifteen rose from the small-town class into census-size cities would leave that many places to be filled by progressive little places growing rapidly in population. These 413 little towns have increased in population, during the same period, from 218,000 to 241,000, a total growth of 22,000, or 10.2 percent. This increase compares favorably with that of rural dwellers who increased from 1,669,000 to 1,828,000 or approximately 9.4 percent. But when compared with the city growth it is seen that there has been a distinct urban drift, for during the census decade just closed census-size cities grew in number from 40 to 55 and in population from

318,000 to 490,000, an increase of 172,000 in population or 54 percent. More striking increases, however, are seen for the census decade closing in 1910, during which the census-size cities increased in number from 28 to 40 and the small-towns rose from 313 to 414, making increases of 43 and 32 percent respectively.

This would indicate that the small-towns of North Carolina grew rapidly in number and in population from 1900 to 1910, but at the close of that period had reached a maximum, for during the next decade the number shows not an increase, but a decrease of one. Why has this apparent stability been reached? The answer must be in terms of the forces and factors which affect the origin and growth of towns, and it concerns two classes of small-towns, (1) the country market town, and (2) the industrial town.

First in order comes the market and banking town which draws its assets principally from the productivity and prosperity of the surrounding country. Its nucleus was the solitary country store, cotton gin, or railway station, and its growth, drawn out over several years, followed in the wake of rural progress. Its duty is to provide for the wants of the country in its immediate vicinity, which have grown with the disappearance of independent rural dwellers. Competition is necessary but should this type become too numerous they would place a burden upon the open country dwellers, since the town income is from trade rather than from productive pursuits.

Towns of this class will be found to be most numerous in the Coastal Plain and mid-state areas where agriculture is the principal productive enterprise because the nature of the soil, climate, topography and other natural features are adapted to cotton, corn, and tobacco. In the light of this conclusion it would be natural to think that towns in the Tidewater country of North Carolina are rather widely scattered, and such is the case. In Camden, Currituck, Dare, Hyde, Tyrrell, Jones, Pamlico, Onslow, Brunswick, Columbus, Pender, and other Tidewater counties the towns are small and few in number, but just a little farther back from the coast in Pitt, Greene, Lenoir, Sampson, Wayne, Bladen, Duplin the number trebles. This is due to the relative fertility of the soil and the degree of agricultural prosperity of these two regions. These agricultural towns however, in contrast with lumber and mining towns in other regions, are fairly permanent.

Next comes the industrial or manufacturing town, whose work might only remotely be connected with the needs and growth of the surrounding country. Its spindles might use raw material brought hundreds of miles and its finished products draw revenue from the four corners of the earth. It is clearly evident, therefore, that this type is virtually independent of the resources and prosperity of the surrounding country; at least, this is the way such towns feel. With sufficient raw material, adequate

labor, and economical transportation, the possibilities of this town-type are practically unlimited so long as there exists a considerable unsupplied demand for its products. These essentials are typical of the Piedmont regions of the state and there it is that most of our small-towns as well as larger cities are found. Gaston, a typical county of this area, leads all others of the state in density of population as well as in the number of mill towns. Together with this county may be named Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Catawba, Davidson, Forsyth, and others; all having a profuse scattering of small industrial towns. North Carolina, with less than a third more rural population, has nearly twice as many small-towns as South Carolina. The answer is North Carolina's greater Piedmont and Mountain areas.

In the extreme west the towns are again small and scattered. However, Buncombe furnishes an exception, but this is due to its scenic attractions and salubrious climate. Other towns may be mentioned which are products of special features, such as Hamlet and Spencer, railroad towns both, and Wilmington, a commercial city.

Having reviewed these classifications let us turn more specifically to an analysis of the characteristics of these two types of towns, and finally to a consideration of their problems and some possible solutions for these problems. The first considered will be the country market town.

Small-Town Problems

Why do small towns incorporate? Are town ordinances drawn up merely to decorate the post office, and the mayor chosen to hang out at the drug store to dispense the latest gossip? These are questions which the writer has constantly asked himself. After a careful analysis it would appear that this habit of incorporating small-towns is not simply hollow mockery and vain display, but is an answer to a long-felt need. The busy city looks upon the small-town with a feeling akin to contempt while the apathetic country, on the other hand, passes it up with scarcely a thought. The changing needs of the town can not be provided for in the slow, cumbersome system of county administration. There is no civil agency near at hand to meet its manifold needs. The only thing left for the small-town proper to do is to combine its interests and aims into an organization which can be directed with definiteness and expediency towards desired ends. Its functions are such as provision for fire and police protection, streets and sidewalks, lighting, sewers, market regulations, and the like. To this end the state grants limited powers of local taxation.

As has already been noted this type of small-town is the natural center of its outlying rural area and its chief function is that of rural leadership. In it are found the merchant, the banker, the postmaster, and the railway agent, and to it should come its country customers, friends

and neighbors for play, education, and worship. Frequently an impassable barrier exists, which, in these three phases of life, separate the town from the country. The countryman watches the town merchant with a suspicious eye—and indeed, in many cases, not without sufficient reason. The country boy and the town boy had no common ground. But, thanks to improved business methods among farmers, to the good-roads development and to motor car transit, these barriers are rapidly being obliterated. Country dweller and town dweller no longer meet as opponents and critics but as friends and co-workers. Still there is considerable room for improvement.

The mining or lumber town booms for a while and then becomes a deserted village. Soon weeds choke the streets, the hotel signboard hangs by one corner and doors creak upon their hinges. Why this decay? The answer is obvious—the source of support has disappeared. Such a result is to be expected of purely speculative ventures, but many cases of such decay are also evident in more stable communities. Many a town has spurred itself into a pace far beyond its power of endurance and naturally fell by the wayside. The only way to avoid this costly error is by means of a social and economic survey of all the factors and forces likely to enter into the make-up of the town, and from this deduce reasonable conclusions regarding the town's future possibilities. It is not to be expected that this survey will be an infallible guide, since the arbitrary location of certain industries, the discovery of hidden resources or new processes, might lead to unsuspected development, but they are exceptions. It is absurd to try to build a Chicago in Arizona, or a New York in New Mexico. Therefore if it is seen that there is no chance for a town to increase in size to any considerable extent, the sane, logical thing to do is to accept the inevitable and make it the best and most desirable little town to live in—to develop its possibilities as a choice residence center. Such is the possibility of the small-towns of North Carolina: they can all become lovely, desirable residential towns.

The farmer, the city man, and the townsman are three fairly distinct types. Comparatively isolated and possessing practically a business unit in his own family, the farmer could hardly escape being an individualist; on the other hand a highly organized and minutely specialized industry stamps the city dweller with the impress of mass-thinking and mass-action. Between these two extremes is a happy medium—the townsman. He it is who finds time to greet his neighbor before breakfast or to walk with him down town; to pause in the day's business for word with this fellow townsman; to sup with his family at home, and to spend the evenings around his own fireside. The urbanite lives at the office, the farmer at home; but the townsman divides his life between down town and at home, Speaking of this bi-local life Douglas says that "the small townsman leads a balanced, moderate life, a life yielding not only great rewards

in personal satisfaction, but affording also great opportunities for social service and for philosophical insights. The townsman is truly the connecting link."

Having defined the small-town, compared the growth of such towns in number and population, summarized the factors which divide them into two specific classes, and analyzed their relation to both city and country life, the way is open for a consideration of small-town problems; not so much with a view to formulating definite modes of action as for the purpose of getting a glimpse of the magnitude of the field of operations.

Small-Town Functions

Naturally the first consideration should be given to matters relative to education, health, comfort and safety, for upon these foundations must the solution of other problems be based. Modern science has decreed that the cup of cold water to the traveller must be pure water and the cup a paper one to be thrown away instead of being handed back to the benefactor. But still thousands have not realized it. Meat and milk inspection, sanitary methods of garbage collection and disposal, adequate drainage, safe sewage disposal, adequate fire prevention, stricter regulations for the prevention of epidemics, have all been hesitatingly adopted and poorly supported by small-towns; or so as a rule. A public health officer and a public health nurse is a matter of public concern. The medical inspection of school children, the holding of clinics free for all, and practical instruction in infant and child welfare are all necessary in small-town centers.

Public education has received considerable attention in the small-towns of North Carolina, but much still remains to be accomplished. School buildings, school equipments, and school salaries still call for many thousands of dollars more than the small-towns of North Carolina have ever yet been willing to spend. Libraries, book and magazine clubs, are still the exception and not the rule. And it is not extravagant to say that the home paper, two good magazines, and a daily newspaper ought to be in every home.

Some progressive towns have learned the significance of wholesome recreation but have done little to provide it. They still play hands off while the forces of evil capture and capitalize the play instincts of the town. Play grounds, properly equipped and administered, are rare, and small-town parks are nearly entirely absent. Recreation is one of the most pressing problems of the small-town. The small town has yet to realize that to provide adequate facilities for play and recreation would do much to keep the boy from a career of vice and criminality. The boy and girl must be taught how to play, for has it not been said that Waterloo was won on the fields of Eton and Rugby? Search North Carolina over and you will find no more small-town parks than you can count on the fingers of one hand, but travel New England and you will find

them by the score, easily accessible and well kept. We must come to it, for it would be criminal to continue a neglect that is taking toll of the young lives of every dreary little town.

With recreation and amusement comes socialization. The church social, boys' and girls' clubs, the sane and sensible dance under proper supervision, have been proposed as remedies. Amateur dramatic clubs and music clubs would be of value.

The appearance of the town is of grave importance, but it is commonly neglected. Adequate lights, good streets and sidewalks, bill board elimination or regulation, are all matters calling for small-town pride. Then, too, there needs to be coöperation between the town and the railroad that serves it. A clean, attractive station needs to take the place of an unattractive, neglected, dirty, squalid one; for it is here that the traveller gets his most lasting impressions of the town.

The small mill town has all of these problems and many others in addition. Its people largely bear the stamp of the proletariat, while the market town is distinctly bourgeois. This may mean a propertyless, shiftless, restless people with little social-mindedness or community spirit. Their numbers are often recruited from landless, unattached white citizens. This makes it far more difficult for the mill town to solve the problems already mentioned. Hence their extra problem is to develop a stable citizenship, willing to invest in local enterprises. This means the active promotion and support of plans that will lead to home ownership. This cannot be done by merely increasing wages, but rather by long-time purchase and periodical payments arranged by employers, and it calls for sympathetic, cordial coöperation between employers and employees.

The shortened work-day has made mill-town recreation and amusement problems of even more vital concern. In a few mill centers it is being undertaken but a crying need still exists. All that has been said with respect to the market town could be here repeated with a far greater degree of emphasis.

Such, in general, is the situation. What is the remedy? Is the reward worth the price? Shall we undertake an aggressive program or remain oblivious to the needs that everywhere cry aloud?

Wherever possible the town should be planned in advance. A comprehensive and economic plan guided by scientific knowledge should take the place of impulsive action. In no other way can maladjusted towns be avoided. For example, the residential, the business, and the industrial sections should not be scrambled together promiscuously, but segregated with respect for the convenience, health, and happiness of the people as a whole.

What general will waste the lives of his men in a battle because he has no plan? What architect will waste his employer's money for lack of blue-prints? Then why should a town waste energy and lives for the lack

of a program? The only way is to have a definite program adapted to the individual town. Concentrated and continuous action, coöperation and human fellowship, instead of individualistic and sporadic effort, are everywhere necessary. These are the great avenues of approach to the small-town problem.

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November 1, 1921.

CHAPTER VII

SMALL-TOWN DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

H. B. COOPER, HENDERSON, VANCE COUNTY

Government by democracy has its tragedies as well as its triumphs. Its triumphs are for the most part in the realm of politics. Its tragedies are generally in the field of social-economics. When all citizens at the same time see a calamity in its beginning, then will tragedies be eliminated. When as the problems of life and business arise they are solved by common action, then will an ideal democracy be reached.

Anything that develops has roughly three stages: first the beginning, second the maturity, and third the indefinite—either dissolution or perfection. We welcome the first, let it pass on into the second unnoticed, and our attention is only brought to the third by the degree of its attainment or failure. It is but natural for dissolution and wreckage to mark the march of democracies, for those who are able to guide and direct are commonly preoccupied with private affairs and stand by in disregard until awakened by the cry of the helpless or the personal penalties of public failures. "Instruct, let not another follow in my footsteps," is an adage of old that needs frequent repetition.

North Carolina with its ideal climate, its natural resources, and its virile native stock is perhaps the most desirable state in the Union to live in.

Population Groups

But, like all other states, it is passing through developmental stages that are marked by successes and failures. All cities were once bare plains or hills, or mountain sites, and they have attained their present status step by step. In the city-making process welcome upon three classes of people, three types of settlement, and three modes of life. The first we call the open-country dwellers or rural people who live upon the products, and later upon both the products and profits of farming. This class comprises 71.3 percent of the entire population of North Carolina or approximately 1,826,000 people. The second class is composed of small-town dwellers who live in incorporated communities of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants. This class, in western civilization in general, has two general sources of subsistence: trading and banking. It comprises 9.6 percent of the entire population of the state or approximately 240,000 people. The third group we call city dwellers, about whom little need be said in this particular study except that this group comprises 19.1 percent of our entire population or approximately 491,000 people. From this brief an-

alysis we may rightly conclude that North Carolina is still dominantly rural, at least in population.

Group Increases

Now turning to the increases of these three groups as shown by the 1920 census. The rural or country dwellers increased in population from 1,669,000 to 1,826,000 or 9.4 percent from 1910 to 1920; the small-town dwellers from 218,000 to 240,000 or 9.6 percent; and the city dwellers from 318,000 to 491,000 or 54 percent. These increases are in no way normal and are entirely out of proportion. The increase is less than might have been expected in the first two classes and far more than was expected in the third. It indicates a migration from the country and small-town to the cities. It is natural for the small-town citizen to move to the city and for the country dweller to move to the small-town, but why does the country dweller skip over the small-town? Surely there must be some fundamental reason for this established fact. Aside from this, why has such a great proportion of the small-town population moved to the city? These are logical questions asked every day.

Before attempting to analyze the problem we ought to signify clearly what we term a small-town. A town of any number of people up to 2,500, as above stated, which is incorporated for self-government, self-expression, and self-defense, is defined in the federal census as a small-town.

Small-Town Increases

Turning to the development of small-towns let me begin in 1900. In that year there were in North Carolina 313 small-towns and only 28 census-size cities with more than 2,500 inhabitants each. These small-towns were well scattered throughout the state. Most of these little places are more than a century old. Also most of them evidenced no signs of developing the natural resources of their country neighborhoods—no signs of utilizing the strategic advantages of location as distribution or shipping centers—no signs of furbishing up as civic centers with maximum advantages as residence places. The exceptions are fewer than forty in the twenty years of the new century.

The census reports of 1910 show a great increase in the number of towns and cities, the number of small-towns rising from 313 to 414, an increase of 32 percent, and the census-size cities from 28 to 40—an increase of more than 40 percent.

Then turning to the census of 1920 we find some amazing facts. The small-towns have actually decreased in number during the census decade—from 414 to 413 in number, while the census-size cities have increased from 40 to 55.

A complete analysis shows that in spite of the decrease of one in the small-town group, 56 new towns were incorporated and appeared in the

reports of 1920 that did not appear in those of 1910, yet only 15 small-towns moved up into the class of census-size cities. Ninety-five little towns dwindled in population, while 39 surrendered their town charters and disappeared from the map.

The Doom of the Small-Town

Many questions arise, among them these—has the dissolution of small-town life begun? Have all the desirable small-town locations been occupied? Has the limit of small-town development as such been reached in North Carolina? Does the topography of the state, the type of farming, or the status of the farmers exert any decisive influence on small-town locations and growth? Answers to these and other similar questions must be in terms of the forces and factors affecting the origin, location and growth or decay of small-towns. In the main they will concern two classes of small-towns.

North Carolina is geographically divided into four natural sections: (1) the Tidewater country in the extreme east, (2) the Coastal Plains given over to cotton, corn, and tobacco, (3) the grain and forage counties or the Piedmont region, and the Mountain counties beyond the Blue Ridge. We find that in the 23 Tidewater counties sixteen new towns were incorporated during the period 1910 to 1920, twenty-three surrendered their charters, and one gained in population and became a census-size city.

In the Piedmont section and the Coastal Plain we have quite a different story; 32 new towns were incorporated, eleven little towns died, while 13 moved up into the class of census-size cities.

In the Mountain section we have a situation similar to that of the Tidewater country. Eight new towns were incorporated in the seventeen Mountain counties, nine died, while only two grew into census-size cities.

The question naturally arises, what is the trouble in the Tidewater country and to a lesser degree in the Mountain sections? The explanations concern the economic, geographic, and social conditions upon which life and development depend—transportation and communication facilities, sparsity of population, schools and illiteracy, types of farming, malaria, the cattle tick, the absence of stock laws, hereditary apathy, excessive individualism and the like.

Before entering into this it would be well to analyze the reasons of incorporation and municipal dissolution. First, because of situation North Carolina cannot have the largest city in the world. We could not have a New York City in North Carolina. But we can develop such possibilities as we have, and it is our earnest purpose to do so.

As we see from a comparison of our small-town situation in 1920 and 1910 the number of these little places has apparently reached its limit. Then why did 56 new towns incorporate during this period? In the beginning we usually have had a cross-roads and later a general mer-

chandise store, then a cotton gin or a storage house, next a freight spur-track, as the nucleus of a small-town in North Carolina. Then railway connections develop and soon the people collected around this little center find that county government at the far-away court house affords them insufficient protection against local disorder and lawlessness. And so they ask for incorporation at the capitol so that they can govern and protect themselves, and readily express their own wills in behalf of public utilities and facilities—streets and sidewalks, fire and police protection, schools, libraries, sanitation and health, and so on.

Why do so many of these little towns die? When taxes are high or small-town dwellers think they are high, the taxpayers rebel and municipal advantages shrink to zero. They conclude that it is cheaper to surrender town charters. In a great many of the small incorporated towns fewer than 300 people live within the town limits and they oftentimes receive scant benefits for the taxes they pay, or think they do—which amounts to the same thing. So they give up and drop back into primitive ways of community life. Another cause of the decay of small-towns is decreasing population or dwindling prosperity in the surrounding trade areas. Here is the direct cause of the dead or dying towns in certain areas of the Tidewater and the Mountain country.

Here arises the question as to whether all the available sites for towns have already been occupied. It is readily answered when the population per square mile is compared with that of other states and sections, and our facilities for development set against theirs. It seems more than probable that all the really advantageous locations for successful country market towns have already been occupied, and that hereafter the number of such towns will not greatly increase in North Carolina. Towns of this sort are already sufficiently numerous. The main thing is to have them function properly (1) as choice residence towns and (2) as brisk trade and banking centers helpfully related to their trade territories. Towns of this sort we call commercial towns. Manufacturing towns are based primarily on mills and factories, and secondarily on trade and banking. Little commercial centers often establish manufacturing industries, increase in population thereby, and rise into census-size centers. There were 15 instances in North Carolina during the last ten years.

Our commercial towns are for the most part in the cotton and tobacco belts of the state, in the Tidewater country where harbors and transportation are favorable, and in the Coastal Plain and eastern Piedmont sections where railway facilities have been developed. These towns are dependent on the productivity of the surrounding country for their subsistence, and their growth is directly proportional to the farm prosperity of their trade areas. Their prosperity rests upon (1) the ability of the farmers to buy, (2) upon the comfortable relationships the store-

keepers and the bankers have with their country customers, and (3) upon their social and civic advantages—schools, libraries, attractive homes, and so forth. The country market town is a center to which country dwellers come, meet their friends, sell their produce, and buy their supplies. In it are found the merchant, the banker, the postoffice, and the railway station. Its social preëminence is unchallenged for it is a gathering place for play, education, worship, and other social activities, or so it ought to be. Since these towns are dependent upon the soil they are generally found in regions of great fertility, climate and topography of course playing a great part. These towns should lead in developing their immediate sections, as for instance in good roads, public health, public welfare, good schools and libraries. Above all they should try to keep their sources of support prosperous, or they will decay like mining and lumber towns when mines are worked out or forest acres disappear. As above stated the commercial town is directly dependent on the prosperity of the surrounding trade area.

Manufacturing Towns

The manufacturing town depends primarily on factory industries, and the facilities for marketing its products over the widest possible territory; it depends only secondarily on local trade and banking. It draws its materials for subsistence and manufacture from the local territory, but also from the entire state, the country-at-large, and the world. Hence its source of support is not localized and limited; and so it does not easily realize its dependence upon the surrounding area for home-raised food-and-feed supplies and local markets for the same as necessary to keeping down the cost of living, the wage level, and the cost of mill production. Climate and topography have little effect upon the development of an industrial center. Its people are for the most part wage-earners, day laborers, clerks and salaried people in mills, stores, banks, amusement places, and so on. The owners of landed property and business enterprises are few, and their dependents many. It lies with the few through their factory and business organizations to develop the town. And if they lack initiative and public conscience the towns suffer accordingly.

Transportation facilities have an important influence on the manufacturing town. As a result we find most of these towns located on trunk-line railways offering through service. Power for manufacture—as water, coal, hydro-electric plants and the like—plays an important part in the location and development of factory communities. The government of these towns and the financing of public movements therein are generally originated, promoted, and supported by the mill owners, merchants and bankers, and if these important people fail in generous citizenship and unselfish public spirit, the towns lag behind as desirable residence places.

We have then the two classes of small-towns, the one dependent upon the productivity and prosperity of the surrounding country, and the other upon world-wide connections, as Winston-Salem, the leading industrial center and the largest city of the state. Their problems differ, their needs differ, and their growths differ, with the odds always in favor of the manufacturing town. They are alike in that they serve as residence centers and that they incorporate for special local benefits.

The problems of the commercial town are centered in becoming lovely residence towns to live in—"the loveliest on earth" ought to be the ideal of each one of them in North Carolina. Its growth in population and prosperity depends upon the surrounding countryside. It must always remain a country market town unless it develops manufacturing industries of its own, or can induce outside capital to invest in such enterprises. It is common for ambitious little towns to offer land, franchises, and special privileges in order to attract outside industrial capital. If this attempt fails the fault lies in location, freight facilities and rates, labor conditions, the local high cost of living, and so on. If any one or all of these obstacles exist, they must be swept aside by united community effort.

A Beautiful Residence Town

If they cannot be swept aside, then only one chance is left and that is to make the town the best and most desirable place on earth to live in. To accomplish this is a municipal necessity and it can only be met by coöperation on the part of each and every citizen.

Town planning has become a life-and-death concern of the 413 small-towns of North Carolina: first to make the town a choice residence center, and second to break down the barriers between the town and its trade territory. Roughly, small-town planning calls for attention to parks, playgrounds and a recreation director, a community building for social and civic gatherings; for attention to public utilities—paved streets and sidewalks, shade trees, sewerage and water systems, lights, police and fire protection, public health bureaus with public health nurses, reading circles, and abundant social events. Unsightly buildings and unkempt vacant spaces need attention. The railway stations need to be cleaned and parked for it is here that the traveler gets his first and most lasting impression of a town. Health, beauty, morality, and culture are the four greatest assets of commercial small-towns, and these should be their inspiring ideals. As for the trade relations of the small-towns of the state, perhaps the most fruitful source of instruction and stimulation is Harlan Douglass's volume on *The Little Town*.

The little towns of this and other states must wake up or they must be content to go to sleep forever. This is the lesson of the 1920 census. The ninety-five dwindling towns of North Carolina and the thirty-nine towns that died during the last ten years are danger signals to all the rest.

Manufacturing-Town Problems

The problems of the manufacturing town are even more difficult, because its life has become that of a complex industrial order. Here are labor and housing problems, tenements and slum districts, poverty and crime, high life and degeneracy, waste and wickedness, ward bosses and corrupt politics, and a similar host of evil afflictions. Sometimes such towns are largely owned by a single corporation or a few corporations, while the great majority of the people themselves own little or nothing.

The first problem in this type of town is public instruction, public health—moral and physical, and public amusements of wholesome sort. The right use of leisure time is the first lesson that must be taught and learned in modern industrial centers; else leisure means every kind of menace to the individual family, the community, the state, and the nation. For the most part the populace of a mill town is propertyless, shiftless, irresponsible, and obsessed by a desire to roam. They are cursed with the restless foot of the Wandering Jew, so to speak. They are recruited from the landless, unattached, instable citizenship of farm tenancy areas of the South—or largely so. The shortened work-day gives them time to devote to gross, coarse amusements in private and in commercialized places. Wholesome public recreation in factory centers is far more important than in commercial small-towns. Mill owners, church officials, and social workers in industrial-urban communities must clearly realize this fundamental fact and provide the very best schools, libraries, parks and playgrounds. And if they are wise, they will conspire to increase the number of home-owning wage and salary earners. Health officers and community workers should be provided and liberally supported. Churches, clubs, social entertainments and the like should be encouraged.

The mill town has a great future of unbounded opportunities. Its problems are many and difficult, but they can be solved. Its future lies in the initiative and vision of its captains of industry, its merchants and bankers, its teachers and preachers.

The local market for home-raised food-and-feed products, and the bringing together of farm producers and local city consumers is also a fundamental problem of industrial centers. If the cost of living is high, wages must be raised, and factory production-costs increased. In that event the city falls out, and its business enterprises are taken over by wiser cities.

The future of the small-towns of North Carolina depends on Small-Town Planning. Without such planning intelligently formed and courageously promoted by town officials, and chambers of commerce, say, the chances of existence—to say nothing of prosperity—become increasingly less day by day. Because of this fact the University of North Carolina is now offering two new courses (1) on Small-Town Planning, and (2) on Small Towns and Their Trade Territories.

Here and there are small towns in the state that are awakening to the conditions that threaten their existence and prosperity, and their Chambers of Commerce, their Rotarians, Kiwanians, and Civitans are developing clear principles and purposes, ideals, ends, and aims for home-town development. It is distinctly encouraging.

There are three familiar types of citizens everywhere (1) the farmer, or the individualist, town or country, whose center is his home, (2) the city man or the mass worker whose center is his office or his place of employment, and (3) the public-spirited man who is concerned with community conditions, because they affect the integrity of his family, the success of his business, and the happiness of his community. The hope of the countryside, the small-town, the city, and the commonwealth lies in an immense multiplication of citizens of this last and highest type.

Sources of Information

See references for preceding paper.

Nov. 1, 1920.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPING INDUSTRIES OF NORTH CAROLINA

M. M. JERNIGAN, SAMPSON COUNTY

The studies of the North Carolina Club this year have so far been spent upon (1) The Cityward Drift in Carolina, and (2) The Small-Towns of Carolina. Tonight we shall study together The Developing Industries of North Carolina. To me this seems to be the most important of the three subjects, because the state is vitally affected by it in ways economic, social, and political.

First, when the industries of a country begin to develop, wage-earners begin to huddle together in large numbers in mill villages or in city suburbs. In this way industrial situations and social problems develop that sooner or later challenge the attention of legislatures and courts.

Second. The cityward drift into cities and factory centers creates a seed-bed of social unrest that takes the form of almost any ism—communism, state socialism, bolshevism, I. W. W.-ism, and the like. Labor unions organize and tend to become politically influential. Occasional and then frequent strikes tend to become chronic, as in the North, East, and Middle West. Already we have had serious strikes by street railway and cotton-mill employees. The labor union is moving into influence in North Carolina.

Third. The economic result is fundamental, because the wealth of the state tends to be concentrated in the hands of a small number of very rich people; but not, in my opinion, to the detriment of the state-at-large, unless great fortunes be selfishly enjoyed or wrongfully employed.

With these brief preliminary remarks, we will proceed to our study.

Extent and Variety

Our report cannot now be based on up-to-date statistics, because the 1919 census of industries has not yet been published. However, we do have some 1920 data on our textile mills, and the 1917-18 figures on cottonseed oil mills, furniture factories, fertilizer factories, and tobacco factories in the last report of our State Labor Commissioner. The status of manufacturing industries in North Carolina in 1920 will be exhibited by Mr. E. C. Branson, head of the department of Rural Social Economics, when the reports of the last census arrive.*

Let us notice briefly the history of the development of manufacture in North Carolina since 1850. We have sufficient data to show that

* See chapter 1 of this Year-Book.

industries have been increasing at amazing rates in North Carolina. In 1850 the product of our manufactures, mines, and mechanic arts amounted to only \$9,111,000. The total in 1914, or 64 years later, was \$289,412,000, which represents a gain of more than three thousand percent. In 1850 the capital invested in manufacture in North Carolina was only \$7,252,225. In 1914 it was \$253,842,000. Here is an increase of 3,400 percent in 64 years. In 1850 there were only 12,344 operatives in our mills, factories, and foundries, but 136,844 in 1914. Here is an increase of 1,000 percent during the same period.

The leading factory industry of North Carolina in 1850 was cotton manufacture, but the capital invested was only \$1,058,000. We ranked 12th in this industry at that time; Virginia and Georgia were both ahead of us.

Including all the manufacturing establishments in the state in 1850, there were 2,663, or about half as many as we had in 1914. They were numerous, as you see, in 1850, but they were small, with little capital and few employees.

In the ten-year period from 1904 until 1914 our textile mills increased from 252 to 369 in number, our furniture factories from 105 to 109, our cotton-oil mills from 43 to 62, and our fertilizer factories from 27 to 41. Our textile products increased in value in round numbers from \$51,000,000 to \$99,600,000; our tobacco factory products from \$28,000,000 to \$57,000,000; our cottonseed products from \$3,705,000 to \$15,000,000, and our fertilizer products from \$3,000,000 to \$10,000,000.

In the period from 1914 to 1920 our textile mills have increased in number from 369 to 575. On the other hand, during the period from 1914 to 1917 our furniture factories decreased from 109 to 89, our fertilizer factories decreased from 41 to 28, our cotton-oil mills decreased from 62 to 55, and our tobacco factories have also decreased in number, but to what extent we do not know. We do know that while all these establishments have decreased in number they have immensely increased in size and importance. The 169 million dollars of federal taxes in 1919 tell the story of our marvelous industrial development during the last five years.

Why We Lead The South

North Carolina is the leading industrial state in the South for several reasons.

First. A relatively poor soil. The same thing that forced the New England states to turn to manufacture has been influential in moving North Carolina into industrial enterprises. It is true that agriculture outranked manufacture in North Carolina in 1910, the total production of crop and livestock wealth at that time being around \$175,000,000 as compared with \$119,000,000 by manufacture in 1914. But in 1919 manu-

facture ran far ahead of agriculture and is finally and definitely in the lead in North Carolina. However, nobody as yet knows the exact figures for 1920. We ranked fourth from the top in the production of crop wealth in North Carolina in 1919 because we concentrated upon cotton and tobacco, the two most valuable standard farm crops known to man, and we outranked other southern states in the per acre value of these crops not because our soils are richer but because we use artificial fertilizer more abundantly and farm more intelligently, at least in growing cotton and tobacco. But fewer than 50 counties of North Carolina raise cotton and tobacco in any large way, and the rest of the state is in cruel competition with the fertile prairie states of the Middle West and the richer farm areas of the Gulf coast and South Central states. This is what we mean when we say that North Carolina is relatively a poor farm state. And, mark you, our great industrial area lies for the most part in our Hill country, where generally the soils are thin and farming is a hazardous way of life. A region that requires from four to five acres to produce a bale of cotton, as in Burke for instance, is a region in which farm life is hard and discouraging; so much so, that farm tenants and small farm owners are ready to move out when mill villages offer what seems a fabulous weekly wage in cash.

Second. North Carolina has abundant water power. Mr. Martin, in his paper on November 1, 1920, said: "Between the mountains and the plains, there is a strip which is neither, but which possesses the characteristics of both. This strip in North Carolina is known as the Piedmont region, and it is here that you find manufacturing centers in largest numbers. The rivers that rise in the mountains and flow down through the Piedmont belt, on their way to the ocean, furnish a tremendous amount of water power. The minimum water power of the state is 578,000 horsepower, on a basis of 75 per cent efficiency. In 1912 only a fifth of it was developed and in use, 110,203 horsepower all told. About half of this total was used in manufacture. I may say, in passing, that of the commercial water power developed in the state two corporations in 1915 controlled 75.1 percent. These same two concerns controlled 66.5 percent of the total commercial power of the state—water, gas, and steam; eight companies controlled 94 percent of the developed water power of the state, and fourteen corporations controlled 89.1 percent of the total commercial power of North Carolina.

Third. A further explanation lies in the abundance of cheap labor in North Carolina. It comes largely from the white farm tenant class. We have seen in previous club studies that in 1910 seventy-six percent of the population of the state was in the country. In the 1920 census we find that this ratio has been reduced to 71 percent. What does this mean? Does it mean that our country population has actually decreased? Not at all. It only means that the cities and villages of North Carolina have

increased in population much faster than the country, and therefore the country shows only a relative decline in population. To put this in another way, I may say that during the last census decade our open country regions and small-town centers increased in population less than 10 percent each, while our city population increased more than 50 percent. These figures show a continuous drift into the cities. This steady exodus out of the country regions is composed largely of tenant farmers. Many of them become despondent over the prospects of farm life and flee to the city and factory centers. But these migrating farmers are not all tenants. Many farm owners are selling or renting their farms and drifting into our industrial centers. These country people when they get into town become an abundant supply of cheap labor for the mills and factories. They are indeed a labor resource that has barely yet been touched in North Carolina. Our industries of all sorts in 1919 employed fewer than 175,000 people. There are two or three times as many more ready at hand in the country regions of the state. This abundant labor resource is a mine of inexhaustible wealth. It is a vigorous, prolific stock, and rapidly renews itself. The leadership of North Carolina in cradles and baby carriages is ample proof of this fact. Our 16 percent increase in population during the last census period is due to the high birth rate and the low death rate of the state, not to immigration from other states; and also to the high prices of cotton and tobacco and high wages in our factory centers during the war period. Prosperity in these areas has availed to keep within the state the native born who heretofore have moved in a steady stream out of North Carolina into other states north and west.

Fourth. The abundant supply of home-produced raw products has played its part in our rapid development of industrial enterprises. For the most part our mills and factories, which are mainly cotton, tobacco, and wood-working establishments, have based their prosperity on the raw materials that are produced abundantly at home. For instance, we consume in our own mills all the cotton the state produces and more than we produced in 1915—353,000 bales more. Our furniture factories use more wood than any other state in the South, but heretofore it has come mainly out of our own forests at a cost less than the average in ten of the great furniture-producing states of the Union and \$7 per thousand feet less than the average for the country-at-large. In 1914 North Carolina ranked among the first four states in the production of softwood lumber, and among the first ten in hardwood production. The material consumed in 1914 by our factories producing furniture, carriages and wagons, cars and coffins, amounted to \$9,795,000 while our lumber camp and sawmill products amounted to \$16,320,000. In 1915 we produced nearly 200 million pounds of tobacco. Our tobacco factories consumed a full half of it, and imported two million dollars' worth more. Last year our crop was around

400 million pounds, and our own factories consumed about one-fourth of the total. Many of our fertilizer factories are in the Tidewater country where fat-back or menhaden and fish scrap in general are an abundant supply of nitrogen.

Our cottonseed oil and fertilizer industries are additional instances of the fundamental fact that our industrial development has been based on home-produced materials and native-born labor. The chances for success were so clear to alert-minded people in North Carolina that the small industries—mainly yarn mills—began to appear in rapid succession in our Hill country where soils are thin and white tenant farmers were most numerous. From 1880 on, the story of increase reads like a fairy tale. The result is obvious: North Carolina is a land of varied small industries based on native materials, native labor, and native capital for the most part.

Fifth, and finally: Nearness to the markets north. Our state is near to the markets and export centers of the North. Not only this, but since the opening of the Panama Canal, Wilmington, like New Orleans, is in the direct route of sea-going trade between the north and south. The only handicap that keeps it from becoming a great shipping center is a relatively poor harbor. This obstacle is rapidly disappearing under the hand of expert engineers.

Significance

In looking over the figures that come from the federal census of 1914, we find that our 5,507 manufacturing establishments added a total of \$119,000,000 to the value of the materials they consumed, and consequently a like amount to the wealth of the state. Is this an ideal state of affairs? Tobacco factories and hydro-electric concerns excepted, the industries of North Carolina consist of a large number of small enterprises. The wealth created, tends therefore to be rapidly and evenly distributed among many people. In the North and East the reverse is true. There the tendency is toward a small number of large plants rather than a large number of small plants. The most marked consequence in the North and East is a startling concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people, and widespread poverty and distress among low-grade workers and their families. Nearing reports that nine-tenths of the wage-earners in the great industrial area north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi do not receive wages sufficient to keep their families above the poverty line, and the U. S. Public Health Service reports the same distressing fact today. No such poverty and distress exists in the industrial centers of North Carolina. For instance, a coöperative mill company was only a few years ago organized in Gastonia. The stock was largely taken up by cotton-mill operatives, superintendents, floor bosses, spinners, and weavers. Even the doffer boys bought shares in it.

However, it is apparent that our tobacco, cottonseed oil, and fertilizer

industries have outgrown this ideal status and are now merged into a small number of large corporations that grow in size as they steadily decrease in the number of plants. Tobacco manufacture, for instance, is an outstanding illustration of this fact in North Carolina. The concentration of hydro-electric power is another, as already instanced. And other instances begin to appear.

In 1904 there were 55 tobacco factories in the state; in 1914 there were but 36, and in 1917 only 27. During this same period, however, the value of tobacco products was more than doubled. It has probably been quadrupled during the last five years. In 1914 we had 109 furniture factories, while in 1917 this number had decreased to 89. During the same period our cotton-oil mills decreased from 62 to 55, and our fertilizer factories from 41 to 28. At this rate our industrial problems will soon be those of the North and East.

The Look Ahead

At the present time our mills and factories use raw materials that are produced abundantly in North Carolina. Our cotton mills now are using all the cotton produced in the state and several hundred thousand bales more. The annual tobacco crops of the state are more than twice the supply needed by our tobacco factories. The same thing has long been true of our hardwood supplies and our furniture factories and other wood-working industries.

An important question, therefore, is: Shall we try to meet the steadily increasing local demand for more home-produced raw materials, or shall we base our native industries more and more largely year by year on raw materials imported from other states? Our furniture factories and wood-working concerns flourished at the start because lumber was abundant and cheap in North Carolina, but this advantage is rapidly disappearing in North Carolina. The forests of North Carolina originally contained a greater variety of valuable commercial timber trees than any other state in the Union. Yellow pine and cypress, yellow poplar and gums, holly and juniper, walnut and cherry, locust and chestnut, all the oaks and hickories, and almost any other wood demanded by the industries of the country were obtained in great abundance in North Carolina. Like all the other states, we have wantonly wasted our forest wealth.

But with even ordinary prudence our timber lands can continue to be one of our most valuable natural resources. Unfortunately, however, we are not yet exercising even ordinary prudence, as evidenced, for instance, by the vast destruction by forest fires year by year—in our tick-infested, free-range counties, in particular. But the reckless waste of our forest resources is not due to forest fires alone. The major share of the blame falls on the large lumber companies operating in the state. Their timber lands and timber rights sweep North Carolina from end to end, and the

primitive, savage methods they employ have wrought wholesale havoc in our forest areas. And neither in this state nor any other is there any effective legislation that regulates the timber cut, that conserves forest areas, safeguards wood-lots and protects water-run industries on lower levels from devastating overflows and floods that originate in the watersheds above.

A reasonable look ahead suggests the importance of conserving the natural resources of the state; in particular our soils, of which we have already worn out and abandoned 13 million acres; next in particular, our forest and woodlots. Already our furniture-making concerns are in peril because of the high prices of timber, and hardly less by the difficulty of securing supplies in steady, reliable quantities at any price whatsoever. These establishments can exist as long as consumers are willing to pay the high prices of the war period, but when retail prices drop they are face to face with disaster.

The future of wood-working industries considered, the conservation of forests is a matter of prime importance, as the Winnebago region of Wisconsin realized too late. The conservation of our soil and fisheries concerns the public at large, because it is directly related to the food supply and the cost of living, and further because the cost of living is related to wages, and wages to production costs, margins of profit and dividends, and dividends to prosperity on the one hand and bankruptcy on the other. Industries located in areas of abundance flourish, while industries in areas of sparsity decline and disappear.

We ought not to come too late in North Carolina to this foundational problem of conserving our natural resources. Whatever meaning the vision of Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, and Van Hise may have for other states, it ought to have a tremendous meaning for North Carolina.

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November 15, 1920.

CHAPTER IX

THE MILL AND FACTORY CENTERS OF CAROLINA

BRYAN W. SIPE, CHERRYVILLE, GASTON COUNTY

Cotton manufacturing constitutes at present one of the most important industries in the state, from the standpoint of the products turned out, the wealth annually created, and the number of people to whom it furnishes employment. While the economic side of this great industry would be well worth one's study, it is not within the scope of this paper. We are here concerned mainly with the social point of view, and, even in this particular, we must limit this discussion to the extra-factory activities, as it were, leaving untouched such questions as working conditions, wages, hours, child and woman labor, etc. The task here undertaken is to discover the employer's interest in his employees as measured by the physical equipment and conveniences that he has provided for their physical, intellectual, and social well-being. This study has to do with those benefits which are over and above what the law requires or the necessities of competition exact. For the sake of clearness and for want of better terms, we shall designate such activities as are herein considered as welfare or betterment work, mindful, however, of the objections often raised to the use of these particular terms.

The Field Survey Method Employed

The data for this study have been obtained largely from correspondence and personal observation, but valuable suggestions have been obtained from other sources. As an immediate basis upon which to work, a double post card was sent to every textile manufacturer in North Carolina, 562 in all. The return side of the post card contained the following questions with appropriate blanks for answers:

"Village school: Number of teachers? Cost of school building? Do you have a public health nurse? a mill physician? a hospital? a nursery? a Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A. building? a girls' dormitory? equipped playgrounds? a community house or recreation center? a public welfare superintendent? a coöperative store? a village band? a mill baseball club? tennis teams? a thrift club or savings bank? Are the village houses equipped with running water; inside toilets; electric lights; telephones? Do you encourage home gardens; how? The ownership of cows; how? Any other kind of mill welfare work?"

On November 29 when a preliminary report was made on this subject to the North Carolina club, only 142 of the 562 cards, which had been

sent out on the 6th had been returned. It was felt that this was a very incomplete response, and accordingly another copy of the questionnaire card together with a letter was sent to each of the 420 mills that had not returned the first card. In the letter it was urged that every mill fill out and return the card as it was desired to make the best showing possible for North Carolina in the final report, which would be published. In response to this letter 101 additional cards were returned, making 243 replies in all.

Nearly three of every five cotton-mill plants ignored our request for definite information.

Welfare in Carolina Cotton Mills

An analysis of the data furnished reveals the fact that 68 of the 243 mills reporting for one reason or another are doing nothing at all in the way of welfare work for their employees and mill villages. Of these 68, nineteen are still under construction, or are not yet in operation; 25 have no village houses as their plants are so small as not to require the provision of housing facilities; eleven simply stated that they were doing nothing, but gave no reason nor made any explanation; six reported that their employees had access to all the conveniences of the respective cities in which they were located; four that their plants were not in operation; two small mills reported that they had gone out of business; while one plant had been destroyed by fire.

Of the remaining 175 mills, 93 reported village schools. From other evidence, such as the location and capitalization of the plants, we can be reasonably sure that many of these 93 schools are either city or county schools, supported by the mills and other tax-paying properties in the community. Both the first and second questions, which related to schools, were in many cases misunderstood. In a number of cases village schools were reported regardless of whether or not they were supported mainly by the mills as special mill investments in public welfare. Hence, it is impossible to determine how many textile plants in North Carolina, even of those reporting, are supporting high-type schools for their employees, or how well equipped these schools are. Of one thing we can be sure, most of the cotton-mill villages in North Carolina have school facilities; but also in most cases these schools are provided and supported by the county or city. However, it is well known that a few of our larger mills are providing up-to-date and well-equipped brick school buildings for the children of their employees, while a number of others are coöperating with conspicuous liberality with county and city authorities in providing suitable schools.

Fifty-five mills reported that they were employing public health nurses. Several mills have two or three or a half-dozen such community workers and have constructed special cottages for them. Twenty-four of the

reporting mills employ special mill physicians. In some cases these are paid a salary by the mills and give their whole time to the health conditions of the villages, while in other cases certain physicians simply hold themselves in readiness for a call to a particular mill village and charge their patients as any other physician would. In all cases where physicians are not employed they can be reached fairly easily in a nearby city or town. Seven of the reporting mills have hospitals, one or two have operating rooms, several have first-aid rooms: but the great majority of the mills depend on the city hospital or do not give the matter any thought at all, leaving this matter to the individual sufferer. Nine mills reported that they had provided nurseries, with capable matrons in charge to take care of the babies of their employees. Nineteen mills reported Y. M. or Y. W. C. A. buildings, while others reported that their school houses, churches, or community houses served also in the capacity of Y's. In the latter case, however, Y secretaries are not usually employed. Twenty-nine mills have provided dormitories for unmarried women away from home. Two mills reported dormitories for young men. Rooming and boarding-house accommodations in most of our mill villages, if furnished by the families of other workmen, are in most cases of a very inferior character. More mills have not provided dormitories to meet the situation because most of our mills are small and require few workers. Thus manufacturers have not, as a rule, been forced to go outside of their respective communities and bring in a lot of unmarried men and women.

Eighty-three of the reporting mills have equipped playgrounds. In several instances it happens that one playground serves more than one mill. This movement is of recent origin in the south and is rapidly spreading. A number of our smaller mills have provided partially equipped playgrounds for the children of their employees within the last year or two. Nearly all the mills have playgrounds for such games as baseball; but in most cases the provision has been more a matter of course than a conscious effort to provide a means of recreation or play for the children of the village. In sixty-nine of the mill villages from which reports were received, there are community houses or recreation centers. In a few other cases the school building or the Y serves as a recreation center. Seventy of the reporting mills are employing welfare workers. Other mills depend on the county welfare officer or the village school teachers; but neither the county officer nor the village teachers can render very effective services because of the small amount of time they can devote to the work. Several other mills reported that it was their intention to employ welfare superintendents within a short time or during the next year.

Eighteen mills reported coöperative stores. The word coöperative in some of these cases is misleading, however, for the establishment is merely the old-time company store, operated after the fashion of such stores. But in some cases these stores are coöperative in the fullest sense of the

word. One mill reported that once each week it canvassed the household needs of its employees, bought stocks of goods accordingly, at wholesale prices, and prorated the cost and carriage among the individual families according to the amount that each received. Fifty-five mills reported village bands, and 114 reported baseball clubs in their communities. Employers can claim little credit for these two items, however, for in most cases mill-village bands and baseball clubs are organized and directed wholly by the workers and are not primarily due to the efforts of employers, although they are encouraged and oftentimes supported in whole or in part out of the mill treasury. Twenty-seven mills reported tennis teams in their villages. This game is rather limited in its appeal and hence has not come into general use. Fifteen mills reported debating clubs but in all probability these exist in the village schools and are due to the efforts of the teachers. Forty-two mills reported thrift clubs or savings banks. It is quite possible that several of these mills had the little commercial bank of the town in mind when this question was answered. One mill reported that it encouraged saving by paying a liberal rate of interest on all deposits by its employees.

Only ninety-five of the reporting mills have their houses equipped with running water, and several of these have only a part of their village houses so equipped. A number of other villages are connected with the city water supply and have spigots handy to all the houses; while still others make their employees depend upon wells for their water supply. Ninety-two mills reported that their village houses were equipped with inside toilets while several others reported closets connected with septic tanks. Practically all mill villages in North Carolina will come within the province of the sanitary law passed by the General Assembly of 1919, and will therefore be forced to make adequate provision for sewage disposal. No doubt most mills have already done so by this time even though they did not so indicate on the returned card. One hundred and fifty-three of the reporting mills have their houses electrically lighted; while fifty-nine reported telephones in their houses.

One hundred and fifty-six mills reported that they encourage home gardens by supplying their employees with free land, free ploughing, free seed, and by giving prizes for the best gardens and in a few cases premiums for best garden products exhibited at their community fairs. Eighty-five mills encourage the ownership of cows by furnishing community barns and pastures, and by lending employees money with which to purchase them. In many places the keeping of cows is prohibited by city regulations and in other cases employers have rather discouraged it as undesirable. One or two mills operate sanitary dairies and furnish the dairy products to their employees at cost.

Thirty-eight mills reported that they were doing welfare work other than that specifically named in the questionnaire. This work included

community clubs, night schools, lectures to mothers by the trained nurses, instruction in cooking, gardening, and canning; moving-picture theatres, parks, swimming pools, kindergartens, community singing, libraries, flower clubs, girls' clubs, women's clubs, loan funds, insurance, pensions, etc.

On the face of the questionnaire returns it looks as though 115 or one-fifth of our cotton mills are really concerned about the social well-being of their employed. In the other 447 mills little or no welfare effort is being made.

Conspicuous Examples

So much by way of summary for the reporting mills as a whole. Now let us examine the record of some individual mills. We shall consider the work (1) of one large mill, (2) of a group of smaller mills under one management and one ownership, and (3) of a number of mills under different managements and owned by different corporations but working coöperatively to better the condition of their employees. The particular mills or groups of mills have been chosen for individual consideration here because they represent the various methods used in carrying out welfare work and because information concerning their work was readily available.

The Loray Mills at Gastonia, which city boasts of more cotton mills than any other in this state, is the largest mill under one roof in North Carolina and one of the largest in the South. This mill is now owned by Fales and Jenckes, the well known cotton mill machinery manufacturers of Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The Loray has always done very well by its employees, but since the new management took it over something like one million dollars have been spent in added improvements and conveniences chiefly for the benefit of the employees. Last year witnessed the completion of 150 new bungalows for the operatives. These houses are well constructed, modernly equipped, convenient and attractive throughout. They contain from four to six rooms and are built in several styles of architecture to break the monotony so often found in industrial settlements. In addition to these homes for operatives, two large dormitories, one for single men and one for single women, have been built. Midway between these dormitories is a large cafeteria which is run on a coöperative basis for the benefit of the employees.

Each dormitory has reception rooms and halls, rooms for the matrons, and 23 other bed-rooms. They are of brick veneer construction. Each building is equipped with baths, writing rooms, reading rooms, etc. In the basement of the men's dormitory is a bowling alley, a pool room, a barber shop, shower baths, and locker rooms.

The Loray Mill also has two rooming houses for married men and women. These houses are equipped with modern plumbing throughout and contain shower baths, gymnasium, recreation rooms, and a cafeteria.

Equipped playgrounds for the children, as well as a children's bathing

pool and bath house, tennis courts, and ball parks have been provided. Several associations for young people have been organized and are directed by trained workers. These associations include Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Blue Birds, etc. For the older people there is the Mothers' Club, the Community Club, a Mutual Welfare and Benefit Association, and the well known secret orders such as Masons, K. of P.'s, etc. Assembly houses and lodge rooms for these organizations have been provided by the company.

The community workers in charge of this work include two registered nurses, matrons for the dormitories and the nursery, kindergarten teachers, a playground director, home economics teachers, and a sociological worker.

On the whole this is a very attractive mill village and the management is doing highly creditable work in behalf of the 1,400 employees and their families.

The Cone Mills near Greensboro, including the Proximity, the Revolution, the White Oak Cotton Mills, and the Proximity Print Works, are doing about as much welfare work as any small group of mills under one management in this state. These mills run three large graded schools nine months in the year, teaching up to and including the seventh grade. Those who finish at one of the mill schools can go to a nearby high school free of cost. The average enrollment at the Proximity school during the school year 1919-1920 was 488 pupils, the White Oak school 455, and the Revolution school 325. The children attending these schools are supplied with all the facilities for outdoor games, and with first-class school-room equipment, as well as with free text-books.

A baseball park is maintained for the use of the mill baseball teams, which usually play very creditable games.

A kindergarten, in charge of trained teachers, is maintained for children too young to go to school. The little folks go there and spend any part of the day they choose. This is a great convenience and relief to parents and is free of all expense to them.

There is a nurse provided for each village. She looks after the general health conditions of the village, consults and advises with mothers, paying especial attention to any cases of sickness. Each nurse reports daily to the central office. The general health of these villages is above the average and was recently cited by the State Board of Health in its Health Bulletin. This official publication carried pictures of the homes and surroundings in the Proximity village, as well as a commentary on the ideal health conditions. The village water supply is pumped direct into the houses from a well 400 feet deep.

The villages are clean and attractive. As someone has suggested, there seem to be no back streets. There is a large yard and garden with each house. Seeds for planting the garden are furnished at cost while ploughing is done free of charge. Sanitary hog pens are maintained by

the company just outside the villages and any employee wishing to keep a hog is furnished with a pen. Coal and wood are supplied at cost, and in 1919, when fuel was high, wood was furnished at less than cost.

A first-class market is operated at the White Oak store on a coöperative basis. There is also a bank, a bakery, and a moving picture theatre in each village, as well as a complete department store where anything the market affords can be secured at prices no higher than or not as high as elsewhere. The regular village stores operated by the company give a rebate of ten percent on cash purchases.

A large hall properly furnished, heated, and lighted is maintained free of all cost to operatives, for the use of secret orders, clubs, etc.

At Christmas every child in the schools is given a Christmas gift, a bag of candy, and fruit by the company. Every family in the village is given a ten-pound ham and every individual worker an extra-pay envelope of from fifteen to fifty dollars. These gifts were continued this year in spite of the depressed business conditions.

In summer every family is given ten pounds of ice every day. Pastures are provided for all cows of the workers. In addition the company operates a sanitary dairy of about fifty cows, supplying the dairy products to its operatives at actual cost.

Sewing, cooking, and canning classes are regularly conducted for the benefit of the young women and girls. Various social functions are arranged for and properly planned and conducted by the welfare superintendent and her several assistants. These people are paid good wages and they are happy and contented.

The most notable example of coöperative welfare work in the state is that being done by the mills at Leaksville-Draper-Spray. This is notable not only because of the efficient and extensive character of the work but also because of the group plan upon which it is organized. All the welfare work in these villages is planned and directed by a central welfare and health department supported jointly by the following mills, each contributing in proportion to the number of its employees: American Warehouse, Nantucket Mill, Spray Cotton Mill, Spray Bleachery, Rhode Island Mill, Morehead Cotton Mill, Lilly Mill, Spray Woollen Mill, and the Leaksville Cotton Mill of Spray; Wearwell Bedsread Mill, Athena Underwear Mill, and Athena Spinning Mill of Leaksville; the Wearwell Sheeting Mill, and the Draper American Blanket Mill of Draper.

This department was organized about twelve years ago and has been in existence ever since. There are about 15,000 people in the three villages in which this organization functions. An unusual feature about the department is that there is no limit to the amount and kind of work it is permitted to do. The only limitation set is the human limitation, the ability of those in charge to think up new schemes and to put into effect

new ideas and new methods that will benefit the communities. A description of some of the work being done by this department follows.

A central Y. M. C. A. is maintained at Spray in charge of a system secretary, a general secretary, physical director, and other assistants. This main Y contains baths, a gymnasium, bowling alleys, a barber shop, educational class rooms for night classes, reading rooms, a motion picture hall, a model grill room and cafeteria, club rooms for women, social rooms, etc. In addition to this central Y, branch Y's are maintained at North Spray, Draper, and Leaksville, with secretaries and other assistants in charge. These branch Y's, however, are not quite so elaborately equipped as the central Y.

Athletics are greatly encouraged. There are eight girls' basketball teams, two of which play games with outside teams. The young men also have their teams, two of which are known as varsity teams and play outside teams. Baseball, tennis, and similar games are also encouraged.

Domestic science classes are taught in each of the community houses and many women and young girls are taught the household and culinary arts that will make for permanent improvement of home and health conditions.

Rather unique for any community, especially for an industrial center, is the complete program of community music which is carried on in these three mill centers under the general direction of the Welfare and Health Department. In order to insure the success of the musical program, two trained musical directors with all-round musical education are employed. These directors have organized bands, glee clubs, choral societies, orchestras, community sings, pageants, guitar clubs, classes on the violin, etc. Each day they visit the schools, to direct group singing and to teach the children the fundamentals of music. The work of the dramatic club deserves special mention. The Christmas of 1919, a community Christmas pageant, participated in by over 150 people, was given. The writer has been unable to learn whether this special feature was continued this year or not. The mills supporting the work of this department feel that of all the investments they have made in welfare work, none is more worthwhile than that for community music. So far as is known, no other mill village in the country, certainly in the South, begins to approximate what these mills are doing in this particular.

In education nothing is lacking. Two grammar schools are maintained at Leaksville, one at Draper, and one at North Spray, while there is a graded school at Spray which is said to be the equal of any in the state. These schools are equipped with steam heat, shower baths, gymnasium, modern plumbing, sanitary drinking fountains, auditorium, library, reading rooms, and so on. In addition to the graded grammar schools, a first class high school is maintained for the convenience and instruction of the graduates of all the village schools. In 1919 there were 125 pupils

in this high school, which is in charge of a principal and six teachers. It is housed in the thoroughly and completely equipped building formerly occupied by the Leaksville-Spray Institute.

Vocational classes are conducted in each of the three villages. Such instruction is given free and has proven to be profitable to both the management and the employees. Several vocational classes are taught in the mills, while night classes are conducted four nights a week in each village. From time to time training classes for foremen and superintendents have been given. In the spring of 1920 a course in modern production methods was given for the foremen, superintendents, and managers, as well as for the welfare workers and any assistants who cared to take it. The mills agreed to pay fifty per cent of the cost of the course and those taking the course were assessed a fee large enough to collectively pay the other fifty percent of the cost; provided, however, that those completing the course would be reimbursed by the mills. The course extended over a period of three months and was successfully completed by about ninety per cent of those who took it.

Before this course was completed, the management began to receive letters from employees asking that such a course be given for them. In September the course was begun. One hundred and thirty employees made the required deposit of \$5, which was to be returned to all who completed the course with an average of seventy-five per cent or better. This course likewise extended over three months. The textbooks used by the previous class of superintendents and foremen were adapted to the use of this class. The course included six lectures by various plant executives and the solving of practical business problems, along with text-book study.

Twenty-one of the 130 who signed up for the course dropped it almost immediately for one reason or another. The other 109 continued, exactly 100 completing it with the required average of 75 per cent or better.

So far as is known, this is one of the very first instances of a manufacturing plant giving an organized course like this to the rank and file of its employees. There are plenty of instances where such courses have been given to the lesser executives and prospective executives. Both the management and those taking the course were highly pleased with the results and in all probability this or a similar course will be repeated at regular intervals in the future.

Five combination dormitory-hotel-club houses, with 186 single beds, have been built to insure the comfort and happiness of the young folks whose families do not live in the villages. One of these dormitories is given over to the use of the teachers, who, before its erection, were compelled to room and board wherever they could. Each of these dormitories is equipped with all modern conveniences, including steam heat, hot and cold water, baths, sewerage, and modern plumbing. On the first floor of each dormitory there is a library, a reading room, and a well furnished

reception room, provided with piano, victrola, etc. Responsible matrons are in charge of each of the club houses.

The villages themselves are modern and up-to-date in every respect. Streets and sidewalks are paved, and lighted at night. The village houses are equipped with electric lights, water, sewerage, and telephones. In one of the settlements, every house is built on a different plan to break the monotony of style so common to industrial settlements. A sanitary officer is employed in each village to insure sanitary conditions. In addition to the sanitary officers, seven nurses are employed to advise and consult with the workers in regard to personal and domestic sanitation. A modern nurses' home has been built and each nurse is supplied with an automobile so that she can perform her duties more promptly and efficiently.

The Leaksville-Draper-Spray Welfare and Health Department seems to be doing everything possible to insure proper health conditions and to provide for the cultural and educational development of the inhabitants of the three villages. It is only by coöperating with one another that these mills are able to support such an elaborate welfare department, the equal of which is not to be found in this state, and perhaps not in the South.

The welfare work being done by the Loray Mills, the Cone mills, and the mills at Leaksville, Draper and Spray, somewhat surpasses that being done by other mills in North Carolina. A few mills have special features about their welfare work which are not employed by any of the mills mentioned above. Some of these special features are the industrial democracy plan and the special loan fund of the Durham Hosiery Mills, the carrying of life insurance policies for their workers by the Pomona Mills at Greensboro and the Holt Mills at Burlington, the serving of free hot-luncheons to night workers by the P. H. Haynes Knitting Company, and the supporting of employees who are no longer able to work, provided they have worked a certain number of years, by the Stephens Manufacturing Company of Burlington.

The following mills are doing considerably more for the well-being of their employees than most mills in North Carolina and should be individually mentioned:

Durham Hosiery Mills, Durham; Erwin Cotton Mills, West Durham; Erlanger Manufacturing Company, Lexington; Tolar, Hart, and Holt Mills, Fayetteville; Green River Manufacturing Company, Tuxedo; P. H. Haynes Knitting Mills, Winston-Salem; Mays Mill, Maysworth; Chadwick-Hoskins Company, Charlotte; Cliffside Mills, Cliffside; Separk and Armstrong Mills, Gastonia; Pilot Mills, Raleigh; Columbia Mills, Ramseur; Roanoke Mills, Roanoke Rapids; and the Cannon Mills, Kannapolis. There are still others of the reporting mills that are doing very good work, but time and space forbid individual mention of them.

Summary of Mill Welfare Work

From information furnished by the 243 mills which returned the questionnaire cards, it appears that only about 31 per cent of the 562 textile plants in North Carolina are really trying to do something for their workers; that about 25 per cent of the total number have made only a very small beginning; and that only about 6 per cent are doing really worthwhile work. One cotton-mill authority reported: "None of these good things here. Tell us how to get a dollar's worth of work for a dollar." Here is an apparent lack of any social welfare conscience whatever. Such an attitude was rather characteristic of the old-school employers of fifty or more years ago. We can only hope that this does not represent the attitude of the 319 mills which failed to return the questionnaire card or to give any information whatever. Another manufacturer ventures the suggestion that his "duty is best performed by paying fair wages." We can only wonder how widespread this attitude is among our textile mill owners and managers. It should be remembered in this connection that the cotton mill in and of itself has elevated its operatives well above the class from which they were recruited, namely, the white-farm tenants. This position is only relative, however, and we should not seek to condone the neglect of certain employers by pointing to this fact.

The enlightened self-interest of the more progressive of our mill men, stimulated and backed by an awakened public sentiment, is tending to hasten the day of a more generally universal regard for the well-being of cotton-mill employees. Some employers recognize that labor is a vital factor in the processes of production and are continually doing more and more in the way of taking care of this human element in wealth creation.

But when all this has been said, it still must be admitted that the above showing is not a very happy one for the mills of North Carolina as a whole. But before we pass final judgment, there are certain extenuating circumstances that should be called to mind. We mention these circumstances not for the purpose of erecting a screen behind which delinquent employers can hide; but for the purpose of fairness to those who are trying but have been unable to do great things. We hold no brief for the employer who stops with wage paying. So then let no shirker seek cover behind the circumstances and conditions to which we now call attention.

In the first place, the cotton-mill industry in this state and in the South is of comparatively recent development and this development has been characterized by periods of rapid growth separated by long periods of severe depression. The first of the periods of rapid development was from about 1890 to 1903 or 1904, during which time the number of mills increased by about 500 per cent. Then followed a period of depression which was more or less continuous until the beginning of the World War, when

another period of rapid development began. During this latter period the number of plants constructed and additions made exceeded that of any other period of equal length. A capricious development of this sort in any industry makes the introduction of the latest appliances and conveniences, economic and otherwise, very unlikely. Also, during periods of rapid development or severe depression, such as has characterized the cotton-mill industry of North Carolina, economic considerations tend more than ever to divert the attention of the employers from the human element. Periods of rapid growth or undue retardation give rise rather to a laissez-faire attitude of employers toward employees. A fairly long period of uninterrupted prosperity makes for a steady development of all the facilities, appliances, conveniences, and humanities that go along with any business undertaking. Such a period of prosperity has not as yet fallen to the lot of the Southern cotton manufacturer.

In the second place, most of the mills in North Carolina are very small establishments with little working capital at their command. In number of establishments North Carolina has long led the Southern States; but in average size of mills she ranks lowest in the South, which means lowest in the nation, for New England mills on an average are many times larger than Southern mills. According to the 1905 census the representative mill in New England has from 50,000 to 100,000 spindles; the average for all mills being 55,000. The average number of spindles in the South at the same time was 27,300 for South Carolina; 15,700 for Georgia; and only 11,500 for North Carolina. Recent growth has tended to increase this difference rather than to diminish it. Taking capital stock as an index to the size of mills in North Carolina, we find that 11 of the 562 have a capital stock of less than \$10,000; 51 a capital stock of from \$10,000 to \$25,000; 58 a capital stock of from \$25,000 to \$50,000; 80 a capital stock of from \$50,000 to \$100,000; 230 a capital stock of from \$100,000 to \$500,000; 29 a capital stock of from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000; while only 22 have a capital stock of more than \$1,000,000, and in most of these cases this includes the total capitalization of chains of mills, most of which are small in themselves and are located in different towns.*

It is not easily possible for these small mills to do great things in the way of welfare work. It is safe to say that the 62 plants with less than \$25,000 capitalization employ such a small number of workers that frequently they do not have mill villages. This is, no doubt, also true of many of the 58 plants having a capitalization of from \$25,000 to \$50,000. And again, wherever it is necessary for these small mills to maintain villages, they are so small that the need for welfare work is not so apparent

*The aggregate number of mills according to these figures is only 481. The discrepancy between this figure and the 562 as given above is due to the fact that in some cases capital stock could not be ascertained.

as in the larger industrial settlements, and hence, the mills have been slow to do what they were able to do, even with their limited means.

In the third place, the fact that so many of our mills are located in small towns—in fact, approximately three-fourths of them are located in towns of less than 5,000 population—has militated against the general development of welfare work in mill villages. These mills are usually within the corporate limits of the town, and their villages are considered as a part of the town. They support the churches and pay city taxes for schools and other strictly public institutions, and in these small towns it is entirely possible for the mill children to avail themselves of these public benefits. In the matter of mill-village conveniences, conditions and appearances, our manufacturers, or too many of them, have been singularly negligent. However, during the war a sincere effort was made to improve the cottages and general appearance of many mill villages. In all of our newer mill settlements a marked increase in the houses and improvement in general appearance of the community is noticeable.

After due allowance is made for the causes and conditions that have just been enumerated as having delayed welfare work in North Carolina, the fact remains that our mills as a whole are not doing what they should or might for their workers. This is not an indictment of the mill owners so much as of circumstances, and it would seem that relief can be had from these circumstances in one or more of the following ways.

The Way Out

First, in a larger scale of production. Large-scale production means or ought to mean economy in management. A large concern can afford to employ efficient superintendents and assistants to direct the work of the various departments, since the larger the plant the less the overhead expense in proportion to the output. In addition, there is the advantage gained in the capital and credit obtainable, in economy of machinery, power, and repairs, in the purchase of raw materials, and in the sale of finished goods. Still another advantage of large-scale production is that it affords a degree of control over production and thus tends to stabilize the market by regulating the output. Large-scale production does not necessarily mean combination. Practically the same results could be obtained by uniting a number of small plants under one management as by having an extremely large plant under one roof. In recent years we have seen very substantial advances made in the direction of unified ownership and control, for instance, the Durham Hosiery Mills, the Armstrong mills, the Cannon mills, the Chadwick-Hoskins Company, the Consolidated Textile Corporation, to mention only a few of the more prominent combinations. It would be an easy matter for one of these chains to inaugurate a complete system of welfare work, and by pro-rating the cost among the various mills in the chain, the burden would not be heavy on any one of

them. Under such an arrangement as this, the continuation of any welfare work begun would be insured, for working under one management, disagreements between the plants over any details of the work or distribution of the cost would be forestalled.

Second, by a coöperative arrangement between a group of independent mills such as that entered into by the mills at Leaksville, Draper, Spray. In most of our cotton-mill towns, there are from two or three to a dozen or more mills. If these mills could effect a coöperative arrangement and jointly employ welfare workers, nurses, and physicians, build community houses, equip playgrounds, etc., the cost would not be heavy on any one mill and the work could be made very effective. Under such an arrangement, however, the continuity of the work would not be insured, for there would always exist a chance for disagreements and the arrangement might at any time be disrupted. Also, under this arrangement, none of the economies of large-scale production are effected, and in times of depression the cost of continuing the work might be greater than some of the mills would want to bear.

Third, still another way out may be found in a federation of diverse industries. It will require a longer time to put this suggestion into effect, but in the end it will be a savior of industry in the South, and will make possible much more general and continuous systems of welfare work. Diversified industries bring into a community various classes of workers, with different interests, and a merging of these classes into the general life of the community is more favorable to the development of intelligence, enterprise, and usefulness as citizens. Already there is a more insistent demand for better living conditions on the part of the workers, and employers must get ready to provide in better ways for their welfare. In such an industrial center as we have in mind and now propose business conditions are likely to be much more stable and periods of depression much less violent. The managements of different industrial enterprises in Greensboro, Charlotte, or Winston-Salem, say, could enter into an agreement to do coöperative work among their employees, and when a depression comes to one industry the other federated industries could make the continuation of such work certain. In adopting such a plan, the fullest coöperation of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare and of the county welfare officers could be counted upon. The writer believes that here is a solution of industrial troubles in the South, or largely so. Just think what a depression in the cotton-mill business would mean to a county like Gaston with its one hundred plants furnishing employment to one-fifth of the total population of the county and support and sustenance to perhaps one-half of the total population. It will take some time to federate our industrial life. Meantime the centralization of ownership and management of small cotton factories is steadily going on. Why not also centralize the community welfare work of these industrial cities? In

the end the Leaksville-Draper-Spray method or the method of federating diverse industries for welfare work will have to be resorted to if we maintain or enlarge our position in the manufacturing world.

Briefly summing up the whole situation, we may say: There are about a half-dozen cotton mills or groups of mills in North Carolina doing exceptionally fine things by their workers; about a score more are doing reasonably good work; another 150 are just beginning to do the most elemental things; while the rest, a full two-thirds, are doing absolutely nothing so far as we can learn. Of late, however, there has been a decided change of attitude. More and more employers are willing to do something really worthwhile for their employees over and above that required by law or made necessary by the existence of competition. Welfare work has not been more widely employed to better the circumstances of labor in our cotton-mill industries because of the comparatively recent and capricious development of cotton manufacturing in the South, because of the smallness of our mills and mill villages, which fact makes welfare work less insistent and the mills less able to provide for it; and, because North Carolina mills are frequently located in small towns and have depended upon these towns to provide for the well-being of their employees along with that of other citizens. These conclusions are substantiated by the fact that the mills that are doing most for their employees are the larger mills, with large working capital, or groups of smaller mills controlled by one management or working under coöperative arrangements. The latter are doing more because they are more able, and not because the management is more humanitarian, except possibly in a few cases. However, of the 319 silent ones we cannot speak.

Hope for more satisfactory and more extended welfare work in North Carolina mill villages is to be found (1) in a larger scale of production so that economy in management, purchasing, and selling can be effected and production somewhat regulated; (2) by coöperative welfare bureaus established and supported jointly by a group of mills situated in close proximity; or (3) by a federation of diverse industries in community welfare effort. In any case coöperation can be expected from state and county welfare agencies. It would seem that the first and last of these suggestions combined would be most fruitful of results, from both the economic and the social point of view.

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Valuable suggestions have been received from various people and especially from Professor E. C. Branson, under whose direct guidance this study has been made.

Nov. 29, 1921.

CHAPTER X

GASTON COUNTY MILL TOWNS

MISS BEULAH MARTIN, GEORGIA

In mid-November, 1920, Miss Beulah Martin spent a week in Gastonia and Gaston county making a field study of community conditions and community welfare agencies. Her report to the North Carolina Club follows.

Something of the difficulties involved in mill-village welfare work appears in a study of the town planning and community work of the mill towns of Gastonia and Gaston county. If, for instance, we recall that the site of a mill village should be chosen only after careful consideration of many factors, including general topography, soils and types of farming, existing means and possibilities of communication and transportation, surrounding country conditions, climate and health, laws and customs, peculiar history and prejudices, distances from homes to factory, working conditions and so on; and then consider that as a matter of fact few industrial plants are planned with things of this sort in mind, save as they contribute to business success, something of the common social deficiencies of mill villages can be imagined. If, again, we recall that a mill village should be built only after careful consultation with many persons and groups, including industrial managers, engineers, architects, town planners, transportation experts, real estate men, social engineers, contractors, builders, and others; and then consider that as a matter of fact, few of our mill towns in the earlier days were so built, we can readily understand that mill village improvement is a large and important subject in North Carolina.

In order to bring to the North Carolina Club a hopeful story of mill village improvements, physical and social, I chose to take a close-up look into the mill community life in the best developed mill center of the state and the south; namely Gaston county, which contains one-sixth of all the cotton mills of the entire state, and more spindles than any other county in the entire South.

A Federation of Social Servants

Three and a half years ago the Women's Club of Gastonia realized the necessity for trained community workers in the mill villages of Gastonia, the suburbs of Gastonia, and the county-at-large. Their first move was to invest in the support of one public health nurse for the entire county. The county authorities had already employed a farm and a home demonstration agent. So began the employment of trained

workers in the county. The most progressive mill owners followed suit with community workers for their particular villages. In the short space of these three and a half years, twenty percent of the ninety-eight mills in the county have employed trained community workers. In addition I found a great amount of volunteer social work done coöperatively by the preachers, teachers, church workers, and the Women's Clubs. These social servants are not only alive to their own individual situations and problems but have organized a coöperative association for discussion and team-play throughout the entire territory of activities.

North Carolina Community Progress gives an account of this association as follows:

“A movement which should be initiated in many counties of the state is in operation in Gaston county. The social workers of this county have organized a county-wide association which meets once each month to discuss mutual problems. At a recent meeting there were thirty-seven workers present. Only those who are definitely engaged in community work are eligible to membership. The fact that this organization uses the terms Community rather than Social or Welfare to describe the activities of its members is significant. At present the membership is composed of ministers, home economics teachers, the home demonstration agent, the chamber of commerce secretary, public health nurses, recreation leaders, and general community workers.”

One of the agencies of this organization is its publicity sheet—The Community Survey. It is well edited and filled with items that stimulate the social consciousness and the conscience of the people of the county.

Conditions in General

A rapid survey shows that the work begun in Gaston has a wide field in which to develop. Although Gaston is one of the very smallest counties in the state, having an area of only 370 square miles, it has 85 country people to the square mile and in this particular it leads the state. There are 51,242 people in Gaston county, and the country people are fifty percent of the entire population. Gastonia is a city of 12,871 and it is 54 times as large as it was forty years ago. Most of the people of Gastonia are mill owners and operatives. There are 12,795 children in the schools of the entire county, but only 2,846 of this number are rural; the remaining 9,949 are mill-village children. Due to the large number of villages in the county, many of the schools are consolidated. There are 48 rural schools with an average daily attendance of 59. There are 67 town schools, and a high school in each township within reach of every girl and boy. Each township is supplied with a school supervisor. There are eight domestic science teachers, and one negro supervisor in the county. And all these agencies are needed, for the

illiterates number 5,177; the white illiterates alone number 3,439, and of these 2,882 are white men and women 21 years old and over.

The farmers of Gaston as a class are still producing cotton mainly and food crops incidentally or accidentally. Nearly exactly three-fifths of their crop wealth from year to year consists of cotton alone. However, there are conspicuous exceptions in almost every farm community—a farmer or two who produces bread-and-meat along with cotton, and always they are prosperous.

The miscellaneous industries of Gaston are cotton gins, saw and lumber mills, bottling works, a brick and tile company, iron works, mattress factories, and roofing concerns. The cotton mills of the county number 98, almost exactly half of them being in and around Gastonia. Some of the mills are close enough for the children to go to the city schools. Others have schools of their own, the county paying half of the salaries and expenses and the mills the other half. The Pinkney, Hanover, Myers, Ridge and Shuford Mills, have united in one school; and the Seminole, Osceola, Victory, Ruby, Dixon, and Wingate Mills in another school. The plan of these two school buildings easily allows additional rooms to be built without marring the architectural beauty of the structures. The Pinkney School not only occupies a lovely new building, but the authorities have converted the old schoolhouse into a teachers' home. There are two other such homes in the county. The one at Ranlo is occupied by nine teachers and the one at Belmont by twenty teachers.

The mill schools express not a benefaction handed down from above by the mill owners but the interest of the people themselves. They are the combined result of the will of the mill management, the mill people, and the community workers, and the orderliness, cleanliness and simple beauty of these buildings indicate the pride of joint ownership.

Two Mill Villages

The Loray Mill village may be described as typical of the villages around Gastonia. The playground, swimming pool, and bathing pavilion form a park in front of the mill which is set in the rear. The community house and kindergarten are just across the street. Here is a home for the eight community workers next door to the nursery. On the same ground with the playground and facing the street running parallel to the mill are the two dormitories with a cafeteria between. The churches, four in number, are scattered over the village so that a church is within easy reach of every home. On the main street leading into the village are several small stores and a bank. The West End school building is near the mill, and the Loray children are within reach of a fine school with a large auditorium for social occasions.

The main streets are paved and there exists a civic pride in keeping them clean. The houses are built in the bungalow style and painted in

pleasing colors. There are from three to six rooms in the bungalows with electricity and running water in each home. Bath tubs are in some of the village homes.

There is a chance for home ownership in the Loray village, and there you find the home-loving instincts expressed in well-kept premises, good gardens, and pretty flowers. In fact, there is a Betterment Club offering prizes for just these things.

The home of the eight community workers is an elegant white, two-story building artistically furnished for these workers, and also for the mill officials and their families who may be visiting in the village.

In addition to the homes for the families and community workers, there are two large dormitories and a cafeteria between. These dormitories are for young men and young women working in the mills away from home. Each dormitory, one for men and one for women, has twenty-three bed-rooms, besides the matron's room, reception room, and halls. The buildings are of brick veneer construction, a dark red tapestry brick being used. Each building is equipped with baths, writing rooms, reception rooms, and so on. In the basement of the men's dormitory is a bowling alley, a poolroom, shower baths and a locker room. Occupying a position midway between the two dormitories is a cafeteria. The main dining room is 85 by 36 feet and will accommodate 1400 operatives an hour.

Going out the back door of either dormitory we join in the fun of the playground. The playground has all the modern playground equipments, including a swimming pool which is shallow enough at one end for the tots, with the dearest little bathing house by the edge which is easily mistaken for a doll house. The ground is in charge of a playground inspector.

Before going over to the community house, the churches must not be forgotten. The church buildings are all constructed upon the simple plan of one large auditorium. The churches are well attended in all the mill villages and all those around Gastonia are supplied by able pastors. The salaries are paid in most part by the operatives, but are supplemented where necessary by the city churches.

Going back to the community house. The house used for this purpose now was at one time a school building. An addition is now being made which makes it equal to that of the Gray-Parkdale mills. Meanwhile the building in use at present affords a good deal of room. The nurse has an office and first-aid room; there is a well-equipped kitchen with all the necessary outfit; the wood-work and cooking tables are painted white and every thing looks immaculately clean. The need is for more club rooms and larger space for general meetings. For all these purposes there are at present only one fairly large room and two smaller rooms used by the little folks who are motherless for part of the day. The day-nursery room is filled with beds for them and there is a worker in charge.

The larger children are sent into the adjoining room, which is a kindergarten under an excellent kindergartner.

The mill villages of Gaston county are well organized socially, and each is working toward definite community ideals.

The managers, many of whom started in the mills as doffer boys, are making sure that the conditions under which their operatives live and work are such as afford a chance for self-betterment. In one mill village two-fifths of the homes are owned by employees. In the company houses lights are free and rent cheap. In the Mutual Mills, owned by the Armstrong interests, forty-nine percent of the stock is owned by the operatives, being bought and paid for on the building and loan plan. No person is allowed to take more than ten shares.

And the community workers are training these people for leadership in the solution of their own problems. All told there are 14 social workers, 6 nurses, 6 preachers, aided by volunteers, and the community teachers.

The Public Health Nurse

The community nurse, who is usually the first social worker to be employed, is not only a nurse helping the sick, but a teacher conducting classes in the care of the sick, first aid in emergencies, and other subjects relating to her work. The following report of a nurse gives an idea of her activities: "The work of the public health nurse begins early in the morning and ends sometimes late at night. But the usual days are spent first of all in visiting the sick, and especially the wee babies to be bathed and dressed. The beds of the patients are freshened as often as we can get clean linens. A daily bath and the regular bedside care are given the patients, sanitary measures being used at all times, along with instruction to the home folks along the same lines. Other services are rendered, such as taking temperatures, giving instructions, inspecting, and giving hints about keeping things in a sanitary condition. The number of visits in November was as follows: Nursing visits 30, instructional visits 20, visits in the mill 2, night visits or Sunday visits 1; total visits during the month 130. Contagious diseases (small-pox) 1, obstetrical cases 18, treatments 14, dressings 10, deaths 0, births 1."

The Community House

The social worker has just as full a program, the following schedule of hours being adhered to: Community House opened from 9 to 12, A. M., 3 to 5 and 7 to 10 P. M.

Monday, 9 to 10, story hour for smaller children; 10 to 12, showers for smaller children. Nurse in office or first aid 11 to 12; visiting in village 2 to 5. Boy Scouts in charge of Scout Master 3 to 5; men's meetings, picture show, and short community singing 7 to 10. The

Women's Club room is open for girls to read, play games, etc., and in charge of volunteer workers.

Tuesday-Thursday, 9 to 10, for garden clubs, general helps along any line: Tuesday, 3 to 4, Blue Bird Club, and Thursday, Camp Fire Girls; 4 to 5, games, practice plays, etc., cooking classes or sewing classes.

Wednesday, 7 to 10, morning visiting: 3 to 4, Betterment Club or other community clubs: 4 to 5, basket ball, volley ball, etc., directed. House closed in evening for prayer services in churches.

Saturday morning, closed; afternoon, open; evening 7 to 10, community party or picture show with community singing following.

Where there is a playground director, as in the Loray mills, the social worker is relieved of part of the games. With the Betterment Clubs, Camp Fire Girls, Blue-Birds, Sewing Clubs, cooking classes, little mothers' clubs, and Boy Scouts, she is indeed in need of volunteer helpers.

Volunteer Social Servants

The Betterment Club is an outgrowth of the Women's Club of Gastonia, and one may be found in each village where there is a social worker. The Betterment Club includes the Parent-Teacher organization and the different communities are studying and reporting on civic improvements, community health, recreation, home improvements and conveniences, budgets, proper clothing, and various other subjects about which they feel a need for instruction.

They are also the nurse's right-hand aid in keeping her linen closet stocked with sheets, and the like, for use where the family cannot afford them. It is the Betterment Club that stimulates interest in gardens, flowers, neatness in and around homes, and attractive premises, by offering various prizes and by having village committees to visit the homes from time to time to see the improvements and finally to award prizes properly. And coöperating with the nurse, they are instrumental in obtaining free dental clinics, tuberculosis clinics, etc.

The program of one Betterment Association is as follows: Song, Bible reading, prayer, roll call, minutes of last meeting, report of treasurer, report of health committee, report of civic committee, a paper on good housekeeping, a chapter from Home Care of the Sick, current events, open discussion, jokes, song, social hour. The Camp Fire Girls and Blue Birds are organized with a definite program similar to that of the Girl Scouts, and taught the seven laws of Campfire: Seek beauty, give service, pursue knowledge, be trustworthy, hold on to health, glorify work, and be happy. Through their club life they are taught the arts of house keeping, and they are encouraged in good will and fellowship in school work and home service. Much is learned of nature in the camp, in hiking, and in other open-air recreation. The community enjoys the plays given by these

club girls. The mothers are glad when the time rolls around for a mother-daughter banquet, when they are served a supper cooked by their girls.

The Boy Scouts are usually in charge of a preacher from one of the mill churches. Most of the leaders have been either Y. M. C. A. men or have had training in Y work. One of these men has spent 12 years in social work with boys.

The clubs, the classes, and also the night schools (which exist but have not been specially mentioned for lack of space) are not all directed entirely by the paid social workers. They are liberally assisted by the local people in charge here and there, and by the ever-ready teachers, preachers, nurses, and church workers.

Gastonia is realizing that growth in good work must be through coöperation. When the town decides to give a community fair every one helps, and help is thus available during the entire week. One night the community singing is conducted by home talent, another night a garage furnishes an open motion-picture show; and so together they make a success of their community events. The doctors, the lawyers, the Rotarians, Kiwanians, and the business men in general are back of these movements for community betterment.

There are many other mills in Gaston county that are yet to follow the lead of these forward moving villages. There are still many pages to be added to the history of community work in Gastonia. However, with the beginning made during the last three and a half years, it is safe to say that Gaston county will lead the state and the nation in the years to come in coöperative effort to solve the social problems of industrial life.

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Dec. 13, 1920.

CHAPTER XI

CAROLINA CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

ROY M. BROWN, WATAUGA COUNTY

In the State Historical Society, a few years ago, Dr. Eben Alexander prefaced a paper on the battle of Marathon with the observation that when you have to give an account of a historical event you will often write a more interesting paper if you set about the task unhampered by a knowledge of the facts. The program committee of the North Carolina Club seem to have been prompted by some such idea when they assigned to me the subject that I am to discuss this evening. What they apparently overlooked is the obvious corollary that the writer in such a case should possess a fertile imagination.

The new census figures have challenged us to attack anew an old problem. Practically two-thirds of the people of the United States are now town and city dwellers. Everywhere there is the movement to the city. Is this movement well or ill for society? Should it be checked? Can it be checked? How? And finally, what is the true relation of city life to country life?

Too often we have assumed, or seemed to assume, that the city and the country present two distinct and unrelated problems. We have attempted to segregate town interests from country interests, town life from country life. The town merchant seeks the trade of the countryman, but he does not so heartily invite him to share the schools or the social life of his town. The countryman does business perforce with the town bank; but he does not feel at ease in the town church. In this state, although the county is nominally the public school unit, the town often has a system of schools practically independent of the county. And yet there is no essential difference between the townsman and the countryman. In every town and city, in every position from the lowest to the highest, in industrial and in intellectual life, will be found a large number of men born in the country, and a larger number whose fathers were born in the country. A short sojourn in town has not transformed them into creatures essentially different from their rural kinsmen. With an exchange of dress, the city scholar may still pass for the country miller. And if the interests and problems of the town are different from the interests and problems of the country, urban and rural life are so closely interrelated and interdependent that the interest of the town becomes an interest of the country, and the problem of the country becomes a problem of the town.

The town is dependent upon the country for food and for the raw materials of manufactures. The bank, especially in the small town, must

look to the country in large measure for its customers, both depositors and borrowers. The conditions of town life do not encourage a rapid natural increase in population. The growing town must constantly draw population from the country. In an equal or greater measure it must get from the country the material from which is developed its leadership.

The country is dependent upon the town as a market for its products, and in the main for trade facilities. It must depend largely upon the town for banking and credit facilities. Manufactures will be carried on almost exclusively in the town. The country should depend, by no means exclusively but in large measure, upon the town for educational and social facilities. The town is the practical location for the college and often the logical location for the high school. The newspaper is printed in town. If the countryman is to enjoy the theater, the chautauqua, and many special lectures and addresses, he must go to town for them. And finally the country must depend upon the town for trained leadership.

If we are to achieve and maintain "a sane, safe balance between town and country civilization," the town dweller and the country dweller must be brought to realize this interdependence of urban and rural life. The problem is to find some agency that can thus bring the town and the country to see their interdependence, and that can teach them to work together for their mutual welfare. There are a number of agencies that might contribute to this end; and when and if the ideal relation between town and country suggested is achieved, it will doubtless be through a federation of numerous economic, social, and civic agencies. This evening we want to inquire what contribution of this sort the chamber of commerce may make.

A Brief History

The chamber of commerce or board of trade is not a new thing. The oldest commercial organization in the United States is the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York organized in New York City in 1768. In 1801 there were four chambers of commerce in this country located respectively in the cities of New York, New Haven, Charleston, and Philadelphia. In fifty years the number increased to thirty. The great growth of chambers of commerce in numbers and in importance, therefore, dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. There are now nearly four thousand such organizations in the United States—sixty-four in North Carolina. And it is only within very recent years that the possibilities of such an organization have been recognized. The early organizations were strictly boards of trade, interested in matters relating to the commercial life of their respective cities. "A yard of cloth," runs a resolution passed by one of these bodies, "shall consist of thirty-six inches and not a thumb's breadth more."

The modern chamber of commerce interested in the civic welfare as

well as the commercial prosperity of the community is, as I have already said, a development of very recent years. The first modern chamber of commerce was established by the reorganization of the Board of Trade of Cleveland, Ohio, into the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce in 1893 (American Chambers of Commerce by Kenneth Sturges). Today practically every commercial organization, whether called chamber of commerce, board of trade, or commercial club, claims to be a chamber of commerce in this modern sense. The field of service of the modern chamber of commerce is almost unlimited. "The first function of the organization," says Lucius E. Wilson, "is to teach the community the art of team thinking." And the second, let me add, is to teach the community the art of team acting. The chamber of commerce of tomorrow will not be composed of the business men of the town alone, but also of citizens of the entire trade area centering in the town: and it will be so organized that the out-of-town members will feel that they are not mere guests but real parts of the body. The spirit of this new chamber of commerce has been admirably shown by Professor Branson in the University News Letter, February 2, 1916.

Functions of City Boards of Trade

Chambers of commerce, said he, no longer confine their activities within city limits; to increasing their population, their trade, and their real estate values; to establishing more factories and larger weekly payrolls. The new keynote of the auto-booster parties of the Wentworth Commercial Club was sounded the other day in Walworth County, Wisconsin:

"We are not asking you to come and buy from us," said they, "but to come and sell to us. We offer you for your products the best markets and the fairest prices to be found in our end of Wisconsin. Our library and high-school advantages are freely yours. We have no ordinance against the peddling of farm products. Our open market spaces are free. Our hitching grounds and camping sheds are ample and comfortable. They are yours without charge. Daily market information can be had from our city headquarters over your telephone lines. No membership fee is necessary. Our rest-rooms are equipped with books and lounges, tables and chairs, toilet and lavatory facilities. You and your wives will find the latch-string on the outside."

The secretary of a modern chamber of commerce will thoroughly understand and appreciate the interdependence of town and country. Since the town is dependent upon the country for food and other existence necessities, he will be interested in improved roads. He will be acutely aware of the fact that these roads lead not only into the town but also out into the country. He will be interested in modern methods of farming, in thoroughbred cattle and sheep and hogs, in poultry raising, in fruit growing and grading and packing, in creameries and cheese factories. Because the town

is dependent upon the country for the raw material for its manufactures, he will be interested in the marketing of country products. He will encourage such marketing conveniences as those enumerated in the account of Wentworth, Wisconsin. He will not hesitate to promote coöperative marketing and warehouses whenever such devices best serve the farmers' needs. He will understand that the prosperity of this urban-rural community, whose interests he is promoting, depends upon the development and maintenance of a vigorous, intelligent, prosperous and happy country population. He will interest himself, therefore, in the promotion of health, in the improvement of rural schools and libraries, in rural recreation, and in country home conveniences.

University Activities

On February twenty-sixth, 1919, in answer to an inquiry sent out by Mr. Albert M. Coates, then president of the North Carolina Club, Mr. H. H. Dunn, secretary of the Winston-Salem Board of Trade, says: "The name 'board of trade,' as used by the organizations in this state, is a misnomer. They are all really chambers of commerce. The functions of a board of trade are buying and selling merchandise, or dealing in the same, while the functions of a chamber of commerce are to maintain in the city an institution, composed of business organizations and all leading citizens, for the promotion of the business interests of the city, and all other matters that affect its welfare, its commercial, manufacturing, and industrial enterprises. Briefly it is a clearing-house of ideas for the benefit of the community." This definition, perhaps, would be pretty generally accepted in North Carolina; and liberally interpreted it may be made to cover all the interests that I have suggested as properly included in the activities of a modern chamber of commerce. But so long as the secretary from another of the larger towns of the state compares the chamber of commerce with a watchdog, it seems pretty safe to assume that, to borrow a phrase from a third secretary, "we have only scratched the surface."

Most of our chambers of commerce occasionally take a hand in specific acts of civic and social welfare. Their achievements in such instances are often of real value. But few have a well-defined program for the promotion of social progress. Few secretaries have had special training for their work. Few, apparently, recognize the need for such training. Last year, after consulting with the officials of the association of secretaries of the chambers of commerce in North Carolina, the University decided to hold a Summer School for Chamber of Commerce Secretaries. The secretary of the state association thought it would be an easy matter to get together fifty or more secretaries. Those interested at the University were more modest. They decided to be satisfied with twenty-five. Two hundred or more letters were sent out. They went to the principal towns in this state

and also to Virginia and South Carolina, I believe. Only nine replies were received. Five secretaries expressed a purpose to attend. Three of these were to be lecturers in the school. This left two students. Ten days before the date for the opening of the school, a second letter was sent. This brought several more replies, each one telling why the writer could not attend. A third letter was then mailed, stating that after due deliberation it had been decided that it was best not to hold the school at that particular time.

But in spite of the sporadic character in general of chamber of commerce activities in North Carolina, and in spite of the common lack of trained secretaries and of the wide-spread indifference to the need for such training, there are here and there chambers of commerce that are alive and effective, as, for instance, in Asheville, Gastonia, Wilson, and Greensboro; and there are other secretaries who are awake to their opportunities. Such a man is the secretary of the Elizabeth City chamber of commerce. This secretary spends much of his time in the country discussing crops and market conditions with the farmers. Some time ago a community in the county had on a campaign for a bond issue to build a school house. He took out speakers from the town. On election day he went out with automobiles and hauled in the voters without regard to whether they were for or against the bonds. The schoolhouse was built. A country church needed a pastor. He got busy and found him.

Perquimans County and its county seat, the town of Hertford, have recently discovered, under the leadership of the Hertford chamber of commerce, that there is no gulf between town and country. On Armistice Day they held a county fair, barbecue, and general get-together meeting. There were exhibits of farm and home products and of town industries and enterprises. There was music by the Norfolk Navy Yard band. There were speeches by Mrs. Jane S. McKimmon and Dr. Howard W. Odum. Commenting on the spirit of the meeting the Hertford Herald says:

“This proves that if the people of Hertford have heretofore been a ‘cold lot,’ they have seen the light and are warming up. If the country people in the county have justly been called an ‘indifferent lot,’ they are cured and have lost their indifference.” The Hertford meeting is to be an annual event.

A Vital Matter

The question of town and country life in North Carolina is preëminently the relation of the small town to the surrounding country. There are in the state 413 incorporated towns with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants each. There are many other unincorporated villages, including the county seats of seven counties—Camden, Caswell, Currituck, Gates, Mitchell, Yancey, and Stokes. There are forty-one towns ranging in population from 2,500 to 10,000; and only fourteen with more than 10,000 people. Fifty-four coun-

ties have no town with as many as 2,500 inhabitants each; thirty of these have no town with a population of over 1,000; and three counties have no incorporated town whatsoever. The proportion of country people to town dwellers presents the problem, perhaps, even more forcibly. Seventy of the one hundred counties of the State have more than seventy-five per cent of their population living in the open country. Twenty-four others have from fifty to seventy-five per cent in the country. Only six counties in North Carolina have more than half of their people living in towns and cities. As a rule the sub-census-size towns have ceased to grow. They have failed, under present conditions, to find their relation to the surrounding country. During the last ten years 95 of these little towns dwindled in population, while thirty-nine more surrendered their charters and faded from the map. Not only are these little towns unrelated to the neighboring country—there is often ill-feeling between the town and the country. In many counties, moreover, there are several of these small towns, each intensely jealous of the others.

If these little towns are to live, one of two things must happen. They must move up into the class of manufacturing centers, which a few of them may be able to do; or they must become attractive local trade, high school, and residence centers.

To quote Professor Branson: "It is self-defensively necessary for the small towns to become choice residence centers—the best on earth. And to this end they must develop civic pride sufficient to attract country people who, for one reason or another, are moving out of farm conditions. For instance, they must have paved streets and side-walks, well equipped fire departments, effective police protection, public health and sanitary departments, public library facilities, attractive homes and yards, park and playground spaces, community recreation centers, camping grounds and hitching sheds for the farmers, comfortable rest rooms for the farmers' wives, and so on and on. These are merely the details of attractive little residence centers. And these are the details that are lacking in most little country towns in this and every other state. As a result when people move out of the country, they do not, as a rule, move into the little towns. They go over them with a hop-skip-and-a-jump into the larger cities, as evidenced by the fact that only nine per cent of our population increase went into our 413 little towns, while fifty-four per cent of this increase went into our census-size cities. Forty-eight per cent of the little towns of America died during the last decade, while thirty-two per cent of them dwindled or died in North Carolina. Here are facts of solemn warning to the business man and property owner in our 413 little towns in North Carolina. There are no business profits, bank profits, or rent profits in a half-awake, half-asleep, half-alive, half-dead little town, and no one knows it any better than alert country people when they make up their minds to move their household

gods and altars. It is self-defensively necessary for the little towns to wake up in a hurry."

Here is the specific task of our chambers of commerce. Their membership and activities must extend throughout the trade area of the towns. In predominantly rural counties the chambers of commerce should be countywide. Where there are several small towns there should be a federation of the local organizations into a county chamber. The greater Gaston County Association is an instance. The Tri-County Chamber of Hertford, Edenton, and Elizabeth City is an inspiring instance of regional federation.

And why should not this principle of federation be carried farther? Why should not Elizabeth City so organize the half dozen counties that comprise her trade area? Why should not Winston-Salem extend her sphere of influence to include all the counties of northwestern North Carolina as her Kiwanis club dreams of doing? Or why should not a little town like Spruce Pine in Mitchell County, with the opportunity that is coming to her, aspire to the commercial and civic leadership of Mitchell and Avery counties?

A Personal Word

Getting a chamber of commerce really to function along the lines I have tried to indicate, in a small town or a rural county, is no easy job. At the beginning of this paper I suggested, not very seriously, a reason for the assignment to me of this subject. There was perhaps another reason. For a few weeks before I came here in November I was secretary of a commercial club in a little mountain town. It aspired to be a county-wide organization. When I was in the village the other day I asked about the club, and was told by the vice-president that he had been advised by several of the business men of the place that there was not much to be done during the winter and that club business might as well be allowed to rest until the president returned from Florida in the spring. In two of the stores I found apples from the state of Washington while fine York Imperials rotted seven miles away for want of a market. Nothing to do! Such is the inertia and lack of prudential self-interest that exists in most small towns in this and other states.

Nevertheless, the outlook is encouraging. There are signs of progress, sometimes faint, sometimes distinct. The community councils being organized in several counties should be a great help, both in correlating the work of various social agencies and in stimulating these agencies, including chambers of commerce, to greater efforts. The University contemplates another attempt to interest commercial club secretaries in special training. And, as I have shown, chambers of commerce, in several instances in North Carolina, have actually made a beginning in bringing the town and the country to appreciate their mutual dependences.

The small towns of North Carolina need chambers of commerce even

more than our cities. But they need to have clear visions of usefulness and clear-cut programs of service. Without these, they are merely a name and oftentimes merely a joke. What a live chamber of commerce is worth to a country market town is admirably stated by William Allen White in a recent issue of *Collier's*. They liberalize, socialize, and unify—they put unity into community.

The chamber of commerce today in the American small town and in the American city, says he, is the leading exponent of altruism in the community. It is not a wide interurban altruism that the chamber of commerce fosters; it is Higginsville first, and Higginsville all the time. The chamber of commerce modifies the innate cussedness of the average selfish, hard-boiled, picayunish, penny-pinching, narrow-gauged human porker, and lifts up his snout; makes him see further than his home, his business, and his personal interest, and sets him rooting for his community.

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CHAPTER XII

CITY PROBLEMS IN NORTH CAROLINA

F. R. BUCHANAN, VIRGINIA

Various special problems of cities will be discussed at length at subsequent meetings of the North Carolina Club. The purpose of this paper is briefly to inventory the principal problems of the city and to note, so far as possible, the progress that is being made in North Carolina cities towards their solution. Comparison with cities in other parts of the United States will indicate the status of municipal life and enterprise in North Carolina.

Forms of government will be discussed later. It will not be necessary therefore, in this chapter to treat of the mechanical problems of city government. All city problems, in a way, become problems of government, and it is well for us to get a bird's-eye view of the social problems involved in the municipal services of the city. Along with the municipal social service problems there will be other non-technical and general problems facing the community.

The fundamental services of a city to its constituencies are listed under the following general heads:

1. General administration, in its legislative, executive, and judicial functions, the election or appointment of officers, the operation and up-keep of city property, and so on.

2. Financial organization and methods, including tax schedules, budget making, accounts and records, collecting and expending city revenues, cost accounting, auditing, etc.

3. City planning, in which the social well-being of the community has a proper place and a proper support.

4. Public health department, with laboratory, clinics, and dispensaries under a public health officer with laboratory assistants, public health nurses, and inspectors charged with street cleaning, garbage disposal, food inspection and market supervision, milk stations and other agencies of infant welfare, house inspections, quarantine and hospital service, the responsible oversight of congested areas, health statistics—with whatever concerns the health of the city.

5. Public charities and correction, including prisons and reformatories, indoor and outdoor relief, charitable institutions—including, in short, the problems of dependency, deficiency and delinquency, especially juvenile delinquency.

6. Public safety, which includes police service and fire inspection and protection.

7. Public utilities, which include the services rendered the population by city-owned highways, water and light plants, street car lines, and the like.

8. Public recreation, which concerns parks, playgrounds, community buildings, and the supervision and direction of public recreation.

9. Public education, which includes the organization and administration of the school system, the selection of teachers, the devising of curriculums, the problems of grading and classifying children, retardation and special schools therefor, night schools, vocational and other special schools, and the wider use of the school plant for general public advantage—all these under specially chosen officials with power to act without political bias or embarrassment.

In addition to these, there are the problems of correlating private social agencies and services, such as public libraries and civic centers, and of civic coöperation with churches, charity organizations, fraternal orders, women's clubs, chambers of commerce, and other such private agencies.

10. And finally, the problem of relating the city to its rural constituencies—which has already been discussed by Mr. Roy M. Brown in his chapter on Commercial Clubs.

The City Taxpayer's Dollar

The relative importance of these various municipal activities, at least in the mind of city officials, is indicated by the portion of the taxpayer's dollar spent upon each of these services. The table below, worked out of the 1919 Census report on the Financial Statistics of Cities, puts the average for the three cities of North Carolina having more than 30,000 inhabitants, Wilmington, Charlotte, and Winston-Salem, in contrast with the average for such cities in the United States at large.

	N. C.	U. S.
General government.....	\$.073	\$.077
Police and fire protection.....	.222	.204
Health conservation.....	.222	.204
Sanitation and cleanliness.....	.153	.076
Highways.....	.111	.116
Charities and hospitals.....	.049	.035
Schools and libraries.....	.324	.411
Recreation .....	.006	.028
Miscellaneous.....	.001	.012
General.....	.019	.016
	<hr/> \$1.00	<hr/> \$1.00

Average Taxes Per Inhabitant

Governmental cost payments per capita for expenses of general departments in cities having a population of 30,000 to 50,000 in North Carolina and the United States in 1919 were as follows:

	N. C. Per Capita	U. S. Per Capita
General government.....	\$0.81	\$1.29
Police and fire protection.....	2.45	3.41
Health conservation.....	.46	.43
Sanitation and cleanliness.....	1.69	1.27
Highways.....	1.23	1.95
Charities and hospitals.....	.54	.58
Schools and libraries.....	3.58	6.90
Recreation .....	.06	.46
Miscellaneous.....	.01	.19
General .....	.21	.27
	<hr/> \$11.04	<hr/> \$16.75

These two tables disclose certain interesting facts about the North Carolina cities of this class (Wilmington, Charlotte, and Winston-Salem): (1) that almost exactly a third of a man's taxes goes to educate his own and his neighbor's children in these North Carolina cities, while slightly more than two-fifths of his taxes go for this purpose in the group of similar cities of the United States; (2) that the school bill per family in North Carolina is, upon an average, right around eighteen dollars, against something like thirty-three dollars in the whole group of similar cities of the United States; and (3) that little more than one two-hundredth of a man's taxes in these three largest Carolina cities goes to support wholesome recreation-parks, playgrounds, play equipments, play directors and the like, while on an average other cities of their class spend nearly eight times as much for this purpose.

The cities of North Carolina need to get busy with this problem of recreation, or the forces of evil will make millions of dollars out of it and wreck countless young lives meantime. An ounce of prevention is worth a whole ton of regulation, at least in my opinion.

The city is a complex social organism functioning through a number of different branches. As city life becomes more and more complex the problems increase in number, variety, and intricacy. Administration, financial organization and methods, city planning, sanitation and health, housing, slums, poverty and crime, charities and corrections, recreation and education, present ever increasing difficulties. Taxes must forever be on an ascending scale, unless civic honesty and efficiency can become the rule. In passing I may say, that in 1919 Wilmington spent \$24.83,

Winston-Salem \$25.27, and Charlotte \$19.03 per inhabitant for city government, against \$27.63 in cities of their class—30,000 to 50,000 population—in the United States, according to the last federal report of Financial Statistics of Cities.

The problems of congested populations have everywhere increased at a rapid rate during the last century. They are the problems of housing, slums, poverty and crime. North Carolina increased in population 352,836 during the last census period, and our 55 census-size cities absorbed more than half of the increase. In the South, Texas alone has more cities of 5,000 inhabitants or more, than North Carolina, or 59 against our 28. Already we suffer the ills of congested populations in this or that city district, but we are hardly aware of them as yet.

“But the invention, manufacture and use of farm machinery and other labor-saving devices have resulted in city growth at the expense of country regions, especially in the Middle West. The superior social and industrial advantages of urban centers have created a continual stream of country people into the cities. In the South the cities grow at the expense of the surrounding rural areas, while in the rest of the United States city population growth is due largely to the increasing numbers of aliens, Three-fourths of the foreign immigrants to America have settled in cities of the North, East, and West. Few municipalities have planned in any intelligent way to absorb their rapid growth in population. Buildings have been crowded in restricted areas and people have been crowded in tenement buildings, and rents are exorbitant—indeed, they barely miss being highway robbery in many cities. And thus city life tends to become in many ways inconvenient, unhealthful, and unsafe, both physically and morally.”

Workers in local trades and industries desire to be as close to their work as possible. Transportation facilities fail to develop much ahead of pressing needs. Thus areas become congested and drop into slum conditions. Tenement dwellers become accustomed to a life that is quite apart from nature, a life that is bare, monotonous and depressing, and yet a life that at last they become unwilling to change. The responsibilities of home ownership are felt only by a few, and the sense of citizenship and moral responsibility grows weak. In the case of the recently arrived immigrant it never develops at all. As a result, there soon arises a contempt for law and order, with all its consequent evils.

Two cities of North Carolina, Gastonia and Winston-Salem, have more than doubled in population during the last ten years. Two others, Salisbury and Goldsboro, have nearly doubled in population during the same period. During the last forty years six of our industrial centers have increased in population at rates ranging from 10 to 54-fold. In what way have these cities housed this great influx of people into their midst? Many of the mills have partially solved this problem by construction of

numerous company cottages for their workers—I say partially, because in my opinion company-owned houses do not solve the problems of democratic citizenship.

With the increase of science in agriculture, and the rise of industrial urban centers, it is fair to assume that our cities will grow at an even greater rate in the future. It is obviously the duty of each city to plan to meet this increase in size by the application of modern scientific methods to city problems.

The Social Problems of Our Cities

First, comes the question of the older sections with their heritage of narrow, over-crowded streets, and private property therein, devoted to individual gain and greed in opposition to community well-being. Tenements and other dilapidated structures, with their filth and disease-breeding hallways, cellars, and ash heaps, exist without rebuke and without remedy or thought of remedy. Insufficient or neglected precautions for sanitation and health constitute grave obstacles to wholesome living, and nobody cares. These are now perhaps well-nigh unsolvable problems in New York, Boston, and Chicago, but they must not be allowed to become so in North Carolina. City planning in North Carolina is an important matter. It means the making or the marring of our cities in the days ahead. City councils and commissions ought not to follow the policies of aimless drift. A City Planning committee of the city government ought to be in existence and devotedly busy in behalf of the home towns and their future development. Asheville bravely leads the way. Charlotte also has been busy with city planning, under the lead of John Nolen, the city-planning expert. Every one of 55 cities ought to have active city-planning committees. However, this subject will be more fully discussed at our next Club meeting.

Second, follows the problem of undeveloped or only partially developed sections that offer inviting fields for residential or industrial expansion, school sites, parks, playgrounds, and other public uses. The erection of new buildings calls for inspection by the city engineer on behalf of proper sanitation, plumbing, and safety.

Third, come the problems of Public Health. There should also be regular inspection of buildings and premises by the public health officer. Quarantine service, hospital facilities, meat and milk inspection are all essential in modern cities to prevent epidemics and high death rates.

Failure to provide for the welfare of children in the summer months is directly responsible for the death of many hundred little children in every city. The failure to provide laboratory and statistical service results in a city's having no standards by which to measure its work. The poor application of health laws may be said to be responsible for many delinquents and dependents who increase the burdens of city taxpayers.

The State Board of Health is unusually efficient in North Carolina; but in many instances the city health officer will be thrown upon his own initiative and therefore it is essential for every city to select and support the most competent and faithful public health servant obtainable. It is his business to keep accurate records of all births and deaths, to interest school authorities in the health of school children, to direct the city laboratory, clinics and dispensaries, to secure reports of all contagious diseases, to control epidemics, to superintend all sanitary inspections, and so on and on.

Most of the cities of North Carolina have sewage disposal systems; but in the smaller cities it is rare to find effective disposal of sewage, garbage and waste. Even in our larger cities it is common to find large areas without sewerage facilities. Primitive methods of garbage and waste disposal, many unsanitary outside toilets open to pigs and poultry, many unscreened homes and kitchens, still exist. Public health is manifestly a large order for the most competent and most courageous official.

At present there are very few privately owned water systems in North Carolina cities. The purification of a city's drinking water is critically important. It has been said that the filtration system of most cities is a complete failure. According to the North Carolina State Board of Health only 13 of the 60 cities having a surface-water supply have a clean bill of health in this essential particular, the water in almost every case containing more bacteria after filtration than before. The failure is due partly to inadequate filtration plants and partly to inefficient operation.

Fourth, the problem of transportation. One of the greatest of city problems is that of transportation. Sometimes it is found that manufacturing industries can not develop properly because the depot facilities are insufficient, and very often shipping calls for traffic through crowded, overburdened thoroughfares. Water transportation should be a main reliance for our coast cities, but because of the private ownership of docks and the general lack of municipal enterprise these cities are inexcusably handicapped. It is otherwise in New Orleans and Los Angeles where municipal docks are provided and maintained at great expense. More of the cities of Eastern Carolina might follow the lead of Wilmington in building municipal docks. Fayetteville has just completed a large dock particularly adapted to its needs. It is unquestionably an economic advantage for the cities of the Tidewater to own and operate their own docks. It is interesting to note that the second largest cotton exporter in North Carolina has never been able to ship a pound of cotton from a North Carolina port. With the rapid growth in population, each one of our 27 cities with 5,000 or more inhabitants should begin at once to plan for more adequate transportation facilities. The equitable freight

rates just secured for North Carolina make this matter all the more important.

Fifth, the towns and cities must always keep in mind that their existence depends primarily on their ability to serve the surrounding rural districts. They must furnish the country people both buying and selling markets, provide headquarters for them while in the city, rest rooms, hitching grounds, and camping sheds and the like. Mail-order buying from far distant cities is a problem for local merchants everywhere, and it must be solved in self-defense by our home towns.

Sixth, no matter what the form of government, the first necessity is a business administration of the business affairs of the city. The elimination of petty politics is not only desirable but essential. The individual citizen, man or woman, should keep informed on all matters of public service. Voters and taxpayers must understand the problems and difficulties of those chosen for office and they must call for complete publicity of public acts by all officials. It is by intelligent understanding and co-operation that the finances of a city can be properly administered, and the growth of the city provided for. Always there is the question of operating expenses and funds for necessary improvements. City officials are often criticized for lavish expenditures on projects of unquestionable municipal worth and oftentimes the criticisms come from a lack of popular understanding. It is not only the privilege but the duty of each citizen to manifest an active interest in municipal affairs, especially in those that involve the use of public money.

Seventh and finally. A citizen does not easily have a whole-hearted interest in public affairs unless he is a home owner, a permanent resident, and responsibly identified with the city in which he lives. The have-nots in the cities correspond to farm tenants of the countryside. Sooner or later they become the prey of malcontents and mischief-makers. The permanency of democracy rests finally on the stability of home-owners, town and country.

The human element is the dynamic force in all improvements. Even after the will to do is stirred there remains the necessity for guiding action in order that laudable energy may not be misspent. Loyalty is among the greatest of human virtues. Civic spirit is loyalty to the city in which we make our home, by whose laws we are governed, to whose support we contribute, and of whose good name we are justly jealous. Civic loyalty is but a part of the larger loyalty we give to the nation. A movement to eliminate some item of waste, or some detail of disorder, or some outstanding evil in a city commonly provokes opposition by this or that prominent business interest or by some prominent citizen. The business man condemns it as impracticable and unnecessary, while many or most citizens see in it only an increase of taxes. Helping town improvement along must often be laid to the credit of one courageous person.

A definite organization for city improvement becomes more and more necessary as cities grow in size and complexity of life.

There ought to be everywhere such organizations as the Alameda Tax Association in California, and the Westchester Research Bureau at White Plains in New York, and the North Carolina Club at The University of North Carolina.

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CHAPTER XIII

CITY PLANNING IN NORTH CAROLINA

N. P. HAYES, WISE, WARREN COUNTY, N. C.

Foreword

North Carolina has become justly famous for the number and wholesome character of its many small cities. During the past decade most of these cities have had a considerable growth, both in population and industrial expansion. As the cities have grown there have been thrust upon them many problems which had not arisen when they were young. Most of these problems belong to the category of City Planning, and the earlier some forethought is given to them the easier of solution these problems will become.

Believing that a detailed outline of the various subjects which should be considered in planning for the growth of a small city would be of interest and value to mayors, city managers, and other city officials throughout the state, the advisory council of the North Carolina Club assigned the matter to the writer, to direct a study of it by the Club. Mr. N. P. Hayes, a senior student in civil engineering has, with the collaboration of the writer, prepared the following outline and comments thereon. While there are many excellent treatises upon the various elements entering into city planning, no short comprehensive outline of these elements has been found in the literature of the subject. What is presented herein pretends only to offer to city officials and other interested persons a brief digest of the essential factors to be considered in planning for the growth of a city.

In order to obtain some idea as to the status of city planning among the various cities of the state, a questionnaire was prepared as shown at the end of this paper, and was sent to each of the 85 cities in the state having a population greater than 1,500. Sixty-nine of these cities (or 81 percent of those addressed) responded to the questionnaire. Mr. Hayes has compiled and tabulated their returns, and the figures given in the text are taken from this tabulation. The results of this questionnaire show conclusively that our cities are not dealing as they should with the problems consequent upon their growth, and it is hoped that this outline may be of help to those concerned with thinking of and planning for an orderly, efficient, and attractive expansion of their community.—Thorndike Saville, Associate Professor of Hydraulic and Sanitary Engineering, University of North Carolina.

An Outline of City Planning

I. GENERAL

A. Population

1. Rate of growth—past and (probable) future

B. Type of City

1. Industrial
2. Mill Village
3. Residential
4. Mercantile
5. Agricultural

C. Type of Planning Scheme

1. River front
2. Sea front
3. Relation to Transportation
4. Topographic conditions
 - a. Mountainous
 - b. Piedmont
 - c. Coastal Plain
 - d. Valley

II. PHYSICAL SIDE OF CITY PLANNING

A. Districting

1. Residential
 - a. White
 - b. Colored
2. Business
3. Industrial

B. Streets

1. Type of Plan
 - a. Rectangular (gridiron)
Rectangular and Diagonal
 - b. Radial and Circular
 - c. Topographic
 - d. Combinations
2. Street and Sidewalk Widths
 - a. Trunk Highways
 - b. Minor Thoroughfares
 - c. Business and Industrial
 - d. Residential
 - e. Boulevards
3. Paving
 - a. Dirt

- b. Gravel or Sand Clay
 - c. Hard Surface
 - Bituminous Concrete
 - Cement Concrete
 - Brick
 - Stone Block
 - Wood Block
 - Asphalt
 - 4. Beautification of Street
 - a. Trees, grass, flowers, monuments, etc.
 - b. Street Lighting (See III C)
 - c. Location of Utilities
 - Car Tracks
 - Wires
 - Sewer and Water Pipes, etc.
- C. Subdivision of land
 - 1. Industrial
 - 2. Business
 - 3. Residential
- D. Location of Public Property
 - 1. Municipal Building Groups
 - 2. Scattered and Separate Units
 - a. Hospitals, schools, churches, cemeteries, etc.
 - 3. Recreation Centers
 - a. Playgrounds and Parks.
 - b. Outer Parks
 - c. Rural Parks and Forest Preserves
 - 4. Docks
 - a. Location
 - b. Equipment
 - c. Depth of Water at Dock
 - 5. Warehouses
 - a. Type and Use
 - b. Location
- E. Transportation
 - 1. Railroads
 - a. Route through City
 - b. Grade Crossings
 - c. Passenger Stations
 - d. Freight Depots
 - 2. Street Railways
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.

3. Water

- a. Ocean
- b. River
- c. Harbors

III. CIVIC UTILITIES

A. Water

- 1. Source—surface, deep wells, shallow wells
- 2. Distribution—pumping, gravity, combination
- 3. Purification
 - a. Slow Sand Filtration
 - b. Rapid Sand Filtration
 - c. Sterilization
 - 1. Liquid Chlorine
 - 2. Chlorinated Lime
 - 3. Miscellaneous—
- 4. Treatment
 - a. Softening, Deferrization, etc.
- 5. Use
 - a. Pressure at highest point in city
 - b. Pressure at business center
 - c. Consumption
 - 1. Total in gallons per day
 - 2. Total in gallons per capita per day
 - 3. Waste and Metering
 - 4. Size of Mains
 - a. To City
 - b. To Business Districts
 - c. To Residential District
 - d. For Fire protection

B. Sewage

- 1. Sewerage System
 - a. Privy
 - 1. Sanitary, chemical toilet.
 - b. Individual tanks with water carriage
 - 1. Septic
 - 2. Imhoff
 - 3. Other
 - c. City System
 - 1. Capacity and Size
 - 2. Materials
 - 3. Grades

- d. Disposal
 - 1. By Dilution—to river or ocean
 - 2. To Treatment Plant
- 2. Sewage Treatment
 - a. Preliminary
 - Septic tank, Imhoff tank, etc.
 - b. Purification
 - 1. Filtration
 - Contact Beds
 - Slow Sand Filters
 - Sprinkling Filters
 - Sub Soil Drainage
 - 2. Activated Sludge
 - c. Sludge Disposal
 - 1. Drying, Fertilizer, etc.
 - d. Sterilization
 - 1. Chlorination
- C. Public Lighting
 - 1. Source of power
 - a. Private power plant
 - b. Municipal power plant
 - c. Purchased power
 - 2. Street Lighting
 - a. Intensity
 - b. Type of Poles
 - c. Type of Lamp
 - 3. Lighting of Squares
 - a. Intensity
 - b. Type of Poles
 - c. Type of Lamp
 - 4. Lighting of Parks
 - a. Intensity
 - b. Type of Poles
 - c. Type of Lamp
 - 5. Lighting of Public Buildings
 - a. Intensity
 - b. Type of fixture and lamp
- D. Refuse Collection and Disposal
 - 1. Refuse Collection
 - a. Separate collection of garbage, ashes, refuse
 - b. Combined collection
 - 2. Refuse Disposal
 - a. Disposal of garbage
 - 1. Hog Feeding
 - 2. Destruction

- 3. Incineration
- 4. Burial
- b. Disposal of ashes
 - 1. Dumping for filling
 - 2. Burning
- c. Disposal of refuse
 - 1. Dumping
 - 2. Burning and Salvage
- d. Combined Disposal
Incineration
- E. Street Cleaning and Sprinkling
 - 1. Sweeping—Hand and Mechanical
 - 2. Flushing—For cleaning and snow removal
 - 3. Sprinkling—water and oil

IV. PUBLIC SAFETY

- A. Fire protection and Control
 - 1. Volunteer Department
 - a. Equipment
 - 2. Paid Department
 - a. Equipment
 - 3. Fire Alarm System
 - a. Call
 - b. Automatic telegraph
- B. Police Protection
- C. Traffic Regulation
 - a. Use of Streets
 - b. Control of Traffic
 - c. Street Signs
- D. Building Code
- E. Nuisances
 - a. Smoke Ordinance
 - b. Control of Advertisements
 - c. Technical Nuisances
 - d. Plumbing Regulations

V. HOUSES

- A. Types of Housing
 - 1. Mill or industrial village
 - 2. Residential
- B. Types of houses
- C. Location of Projects

D. Methods of Conducting Projects

E. Housing Laws

1. Districting
 2. Safety
 3. Sanitation
-

CITY PLANNING DEFINED

City planning is the arranging of the city so that it may best promote the wealth, safety, convenience, comfort and pleasure of its citizens. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss such a broad subject in detail. It is the purpose to point out the possibilities of city planning methods in North Carolina cities. Every city has its individual problems as well as its advantages; but there are principles applicable to all. As a basis for this paper a questionnaire was sent to the eighty-five towns of over fifteen hundred population in North Carolina and 69 cities or 81 percent of these filled out and returned the schedules. The results will be taken up under the separate subjects. But as a whole these replies indicate that in North Carolina, as elsewhere, cities have grown haphazard and undirected, with the resulting evils of congestion and sordidness. Only 15, or 22 percent of the cities reporting, have taken steps towards establishing a city plan. Asheville has recently appropriated \$6,000 for city planning under the direction of Mr. John Nolen, and is leading the way in North Carolina in enterprises of this sort.

Every City Needs A Plan

Frequently it is not until a city becomes large and fixed that the evil results of the lack of planning become evident. From all large cities we have learned that city planning is desirable and even necessary. Therefore it is advisable to plan the city when it is small and comparatively easy to change. There is much similarity in improving the child and the adult and in replanning the small and the large city. The narrow, crooked streets of the small city, that will eventually become the important business streets of the large city, are bordered by comparatively low-valued property, and they may be made wider and straighter much more easily in the small city than later. When important buildings arise on each side of this street, it is almost impossible to alter them, however congested traffic may have become. Desirable park land may be obtained on the outskirts of the small city cheaply, which will become more and more valuable to the city as it expands. If parks are bought after the small city has grown into a large one they will necessarily be farther removed from the mass of the people and obtained at a much greater cost. In short, the smaller the city is when it adopts a plan,

the more fortunate it is. North Carolina as a whole is fortunate in that nearly all of her cities may be classed as small ones.

1. The Type of City

Aside from natural conditions the type of city exerts a fundamental influence upon its plan. The industrial, residential, mercantile and agricultural types all have their different requirements. The industrial city must make ample provision for factory sites, warehouses, transportation facilities, and the like, and districting is more vital. In the residential type the entire aim should be to make it an ideal city for homes. The agricultural type must have an extensive and well kept system of highways converging to the city. Four-fifths of our cities with ten thousand inhabitants or more are industrial.

Every city should take advantage of its topography. Beauty as well as convenience in relation to hills, mountains, streams, rivers, lakes, and seashores should be taken into consideration. By adaptation to their natural surroundings many cities surpass their neighbors. Though the latter may be more richly endowed by nature they have failed to make the most of their geographical advantages.

2. The Physical Side of City Planning

Districting is the division of the city into distinct districts and the regulation of the use of these districts. By this it is not meant that every building now in a district to which it does not properly belong must be removed; but that all new ones should be built in their proper districts. It will be "the substitution of order for chaos in the city; a place for everything and everything in its place." Three main districts are necessary in North Carolina cities: the industrial, the business, and the residential. Since whites and blacks are largely separated voluntarily, it is fairly easy to divide our residential districts into white and negro sections, where each race may be protected in its own district. In a city properly districted a home builder has a comforting assurance that a commercial garage will not arise next door, a business man need not fear encroachment by the industries, and the industries may work out their own expansion. Existing conditions should have great influence on re-districting, and the future growth of the city directed along the best lines possible under all the circumstances. No system should be adopted until the situation has been thoroughly studied by competent city planning engineers familiar with local conditions. There are a few general principles. For the industrial type there should be ample provision for factory sites, warehouses, and transportation facilities. The residential section should have ready access to each of the other two. The business district should not be in danger of encroachment by the industrial district. The business district will sooner or later encroach

upon the residential section. Several districts of each type may be established. At present only six of the cities reporting have districting ordinances of the sort under discussion.

Streets

Streets are primarily for utility, with beauty a close second for consideration. They are the most stationary parts of the city when once established and therefore careful investigations should precede their establishment. The advantages of the different types of street plans are outlined herewith. The rectangular type resembles a huge checker-board. Its advantages lie in simplicity, facility in numbering of houses, distribution of utilities, and in offering a maximum area of building lots. The disadvantages lie in its monotony and in the unguided traffic that floods the residential districts. Also it often requires excessive grading with great cost and damage to abutting property. With diagonals radiating from focal points many of these disadvantages are overcome. But it is still unsuited for hilly location.

The radial and circular types lay the city off like a great spider web and have great aesthetic properties, but lack directness for traffic. The winding streets are well suited for hills and are attractive, but they lack directness and offer problems in locating wires and pipes. Some combination of the above systems is usually the most desirable, say the rectangular type in the business sections, with diagonals largely determined by highways leading into the city. Winding topographic streets are best suited for the residential streets.

Forty-eight or 70 percent of the cities reporting have ordinances establishing street widths, but nine-tenths of the cities of the state could be improved by widening existing streets, especially in the business districts. Street widths should always be designed with the future needs of the city well in view. A good rule is to allow nine feet for each line of standing or moving vehicles, ten feet for each car track, with sidewalks one-fourth of the street width. The business sections demand the widest streets, because they are trunk highways of traffic. Minor thoroughfares care for the traffic within the city and should be next in width to the trunk highways. Industrial streets must have a wide range of widths. The residential sections are traversed by trunk highways, thoroughfares, and also by wide streets that are purely residential. The entire width of the latter should be great. There is need for the so-called elastic street because it may be later transformed into a wide street. At first the paved part of the elastic street will be narrow. It needs to have wide total width, but only about half of it will be used as a roadway, the remainder being occupied by grass plots, in the middle between curb and sidewalks, or between sidewalks and property lines. If need be, this type may be changed into a business street with the least

effort and disorder. As a residential street it has charm, healthfulness, and all the other advantages of a wide street, without expensive construction costs. A boulevard is a park-like street with ample provisions for parkways, trees, flowers, monuments and the like.

Desirable qualities in street surfaces are low initial cost, inexpensive maintenance, durability, sanitariness, ease of cleaning, smoothness without slipperiness, and lack of noise or dust. Local materials may be used where first cost is of great importance, and may prove satisfactory where traffic is light. Earth roads are muddy in wet weather and dusty in dry. They are unsanitary, ugly, high in maintenance costs, and offer great resistance to traffic. Sand-clay has the same advantage of low first cost, with fewer disadvantages. Gravel roads are comparatively the same in value as sand-clay roads; but gravel is fairly scarce in North Carolina. Macadam with a bituminous surface stands rapid traffic better but it is too slippery for steep grades. It is dustless and moderate in first cost. Bituminous concrete on a cement base makes an excellent pavement, smooth and attractive in appearance. It is very easy to maintain, and not so slippery as sheet asphalt, but it is high in first cost and unsuitable for extremely heavy traffic. Cement concrete is durable even under heavy traffic, smooth, dustless, easily cleaned, but it is high in first cost, difficult to repair, and hard to cut through to sub-surface structures. Sheet asphalt is smooth, dustless, almost noiseless, and easily cleaned and repaired. On the whole it is the best for city streets, except for very heavy traffic and steep grades. Brick paving is low in maintenance and has the usual characteristics of hard-surfaced roads, but it is noisy and high in first cost. Stone block is the best pavement for exceptionally heavy traffic and especially on steep grades, but it is not suitable elsewhere. Wood block is very good except that it is slippery and expensive. It is noiseless and especially desirable near hospitals and schools.

The beautification of streets is very inadequately considered in North Carolina although a large number of improvements are within easy reach of all. Right around half of the cities of the state have taken some steps along this line but very few of these have made any considerable progress. The attractiveness of the streets is largely the attractiveness of the city as a whole. Trees and grass are the greatest assets in beautification. They are pleasing to the eye, and also they add greatly to the general health and comfort. Numerous open spaces of varying size should be provided by every city, and upon these should stand monuments and fountains. Nearly every city has some of these and all should have more.

A list of appropriate trees for our cities has been compiled by Dr. W. C. Coker of the department of Plant Biology in the University of North Carolina, and published as an extension bulletin by the University. This bulletin may be had upon application. The following is abstracted from it:

Trees suitable for street planning in North Carolina: Laurel Oak, Pin Oak, Sugar Maple, Red Maple, Norway Maple, American Elm, Lindens, White Ash, Horse Chestnut, Kentucky Coffee Tree, Hackberry, Black Gum, European Plane Tree.

For central rows in avenues or for side rows on large streets: White Oak, Red Oak, Scarlet Oak, Tulip Tree, Sweet Gum, Black Walnut, any native Pine, Live Oak (eastern section only).

Between the larger trees on streets Dogwood, Redbud, Crepe Myrtle, or Mimosa could be used to give color and variety.

The customary place for street car tracks is the center of the street. However, in some suburban districts where the street is wide and the paved roadway narrow, it is advantageous to place the car track between one sidewalk and the paved roadway. One of the greatest detriments to the appearance of our streets is the mass of wires overhead, and the constant tearing up of the street on account of underground utilities. A common solution of the overhead nuisance is to place all wires underground. But when this is done they should, wherever possible, be placed under grass strips and passways, thus avoiding the tearing up of paved streets. An accurate map of all underground utilities should be kept by the city. Of late one of the most effective means of overcoming these nuisances has been to run all utilities, such as wires and pipes, in the center of the block—that is, in the rear of the houses. By this method they cross the street only at intervals and serve the houses on two streets.

Subdivision of Land

The subdivision of city areas calls for three districts determined by regional uses. These are: industrial, business, and residential. No rule for size of lot or block may be formulated for industrial uses. For while one industry may need only one acre another may require several. Business sections have little choice in blocks and lot sizes. In expanding they merely overrun the residential sections and take them as they are found. Usually a lot about 125 feet deep and from 25 to 40 feet wide with block lengths from 400 to 800 feet is desirable. Since the residential section not only occupies about two-thirds of the city area, but also more closely affects human welfare, it is the principal field for land subdivision. Deep lots have not been found to be as desirable as the more shallow ones. This is especially true in sections that may some day be business sections. In the purely residential districts wider and deeper lots with provisions for yards and gardens are desirable.

Location of Public Property

Every city in this state has one or more public buildings—a city hall, a city library, often a county courthouse, and the like. The desirability of a public building group for convenience, beauty, and civic pride is

beyond question. This group is the heart of the city and should be at its center, with important streets radiating from it, and preferably it should occupy an eminence. One plan is to have a public square surrounded by this group, the square containing a building, or being devoted solely to monuments, trees, and the like as in Springfield, Mass. Another plan is to extend the public buildings along an important and beautiful street, as in San Francisco. A common mistake is failure to provide sufficient area for future public buildings. Among the separate and scattered properties devoted to public use are hospitals, schools, churches, cemeteries, community houses, and public comfort stations. Local conditions are the determining factors in the location of public properties of this character.

Every city should have a park system, but at present public parks are found in only 19 of the 69 cities responding to the questionnaire. A system could well be composed of playgrounds and small parks, outer parks, and rural parks. Park playgrounds occupy from the smallest open spaces to three or four blocks, and such parks should be scattered throughout the city affording playgrounds for children and a resting place for all. The outer parks should be much larger in size, even up to a hundred acres. Usually they are on the outskirts of the city, but they should not be farther than one car-fare from most of the citizens. They should contain playgrounds, flower plots, picnic spaces, swimming pools, and the like; but great attention should also be paid to the development of natural features. The large undeveloped areas near every city should be utilized as rural parks. Forest reserves are becoming more and more necessary in order to preserve our timber. This movement might be greatly aided if every city would establish such reserves as nearby rural parks. Moreover this would give the people an opportunity to get out in the woods for walks and drives, picnics and camping parties.

Transportation

Two of our cities with 10,000 or more inhabitants are located on navigable water and both have dock facilities. Freight-handling equipment is a requisite, and often by deepening the water in channels and docks a great increase of water transportation becomes possible. Wilmington has long been busy with this important problem.

There is no single building problem in North Carolina more important than the use, type, and location of warehouses. Whether they are to be located at interior points for the storing of cotton and tobacco or on the coast for handling bulk freights, they play an important part in the economic success of any community.

Railway routes in North Carolina have usually been determined and laid down in the early beginnings of city growth. But by proper planning, railroad tracks in the future can be directed through designated

districts. They are undesirable in residential sections. It is to the industrial districts, with their transportation problems, and, in a lesser way, to the business parts of the town that they belong.

The passenger station should be conveniently located, preferably in the less crowded part of the business section. The lack of a union station is a great drawback to any city. Most of our large cities have from two to three stations; 13 of the cities making returns reported union stations. By proper coöperation between cities and railroad authorities union stations can usually be provided. It is the railway station that gives the stranger his first impression of a city, and first impressions are lasting. Utility and attractiveness should distinguish the railroad gateway into a city.

Grade crossings should be removed by track elevation or depression, or by placing the roadway above or below the railroad right of way.

The freight depot or depots should be planned and located with special reference to the convenience of the business and industrial districts, and also to the docks in cities having water transportation. There is nothing that appeals more to prospective manufacturers than facilities for handling freight, and nothing that contributes more to city growth.

3. Civic Utilities

An adequate and safe water supply is the most important single public service utility of a city. Sixty-four of the 69 cities reporting have municipal water systems, and the sources of water supply are adequate in all but 7 of these. Twenty-seven report city water from wells and thirty-seven from surface streams.

Three methods of distribution are used: gravity, pumping, and a combination of these. Gravity is preferable wherever it is possible. Great economies may here be achieved by proper thought of the future growth of the city. Many cities of the state are spending thousands of dollars needlessly in the distribution of water through piping and filtration systems that were planned with little thought of normal increases in population.

Most surface waters in North Carolina have to be treated to a greater or less extent to render them sanitary. Rapid or slow sand filtration will do this and remove many of the bacteria. Sterilization, usually by liquid chlorine or chlorinated lime, is necessary to make water entirely free from bacteria.

Oftentimes waters, especially well water, contain some chemical which makes them unfit for manufacturing or washing purposes. In such cases they must be treated to remove these chemicals.

Pressure in mains at a given point is governed largely by what is necessary to maintain adequate fire protection. Pressure at the highest point of the residential section should not be less than twenty nor more than

eighty pounds per square inch. In the business section a pressure of thirty to forty pounds will be sufficient if the pumping engine and other facilities are available for fire fighting.

The size of mains is determined by the amount of water needed. In business districts size is determined by needs in case of fire. Insurance rates are much less if mains are large. The same holds true for the residential areas, except that smaller mains may be used.

In planning water supplies the total consumption in gallons per day should be estimated. Gallons per capita per day vary from forty to one hundred for moderate-sized cities. Waste of water may be greatly reduced by metering and all new installations should be metered.

Sewage

Proper disposal of sewage is a prime requisite of health. Any of the sanitary privies or chemical toilets approved by the State Board of Health are satisfactory for isolated installations. Where individual homes are able to install a water carriage system, either Septic or Imhoff tanks may be suitable. Cities usually have complete sewerage systems and all but ten of the 69 cities reporting are thus equipped. The requisite capacity, size, materials, and grade for the individual city should be determined after careful study by a competent engineer. Sewage from a city is disposed of either by discharge into a river or the ocean, or into a treatment plant. The former is satisfactory when the volume of water is sufficient to prevent a nuisance and when the river is not used for drinking purposes by some city a few miles below. Sewage treatment is becoming more and more necessary because our cities are growing so rapidly in number and size. Sprinkling filters or subsoil drainage are among the most satisfactory purification methods for this state. When sterilization is necessary liquid chlorine or chlorinated lime is effective.

Public Lighting

Ninety-five percent of the cities reporting have public lighting systems; but practically none of these are municipally owned. That is to say, they buy their light and power from the commercial hydro-electric companies serving North Carolina. Plants of varying size may often be developed, as at North Wilkesboro, on water falls near the city and this is always desirable. Street lighting is the most important lighting in a city. It should not be blinding, nor should there be shadows. Numerous small lights are desirable.

Refuse Collection and Disposal

The health, beauty, and comfort of a city are greatly increased by an efficient removal of refuse. Slightly over half the cities responding

reported refuse collection and disposal systems, but almost without exception these are inadequate. There are several methods of disposal: hog feeding, destruction, incineration, burial, and dumping in fills. Incineration is the best method for most small cities of this state.

Street Cleaning

Streets are cleaned by sweeping, flushing with water, or sprinkling with water or oils. Sweeping cleans the street of all foreign matter but does not prevent the accumulation of dust. Flushing is an excellent temporary cleaner, but when the water evaporates dust is present again. The above two are very efficient for all except dust prevention, and oil is the best for that purpose. The most efficient cleaning is by sweeping or flushing and finally by sprinkling with oil.

4. Public Safety

Ample fire protection requires a fire department, either paid or voluntary or a combination of these plans. Most cities can afford a paid department.

Smoke control ordinances prevent one of the greatest nuisances of the city and are both practicable and effective. Almost no attention has been given to this matter by North Carolina cities.

5. Housing

The city housing problem of late is requiring world-wide attention. There is an estimated shortage of some 7,000 dwellings in our eighty-five cities of over 1,500 inhabitants. The shortage is mainly in the larger cities; it is not great in the small towns, and hardly exist in the open country. There the need is not so much for houses as for better houses. Plans for more and better houses are being made in a few of our cities—as, for instance, in High Point and Wilmington. The mill villages of the state show the greatest activity in this matter. Height and area districts are being established in some northern cities and have proved to be an improvement upon the old unregulated growth. Through a wise building code much can be done to better city conditions everywhere.

In summing up, let it be said that this is merely an outline of city planning methods that North Carolina cities need and that are within reach of all of them. The sooner a city adopts city planning to direct its growth, the sooner it starts toward being an ideal city.

City Planning Questionnaire Used

The Letter to City Officials:

“The North Carolina Club of the University of North Carolina is making a survey of the status of city planning and housing developments

and needs in the State. The Club intends to prepare an exhibit of plans and illustrations of such projects as have been completed. If the response to this questionnaire indicates sufficient interest in the subject the Extension Department of the University will issue a bulletin on City Planning and Housing outlining the various elements of the question and presenting definite constructive ideas for use by North Carolina towns and cities that are looking intelligently toward the future. You are urged to contribute your part toward this effort to make the state more attractive to live and work in, by answering the following questions and returning this blank in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope."

The Questionnaire

1. The 1920 population of the town or city of.....located in.....county, North Carolina, was.....
2. Have any steps been taken toward establishing a city or town plan?
3. Have any steps been taken to separate the industrial, residential, and business sections of your city?
- 3a. Have you a smoke control ordinance? Is it enforced?
4. Can access to the town from outlying districts be improved or the congestion of business districts be reduced by widening or straightening streets or by cutting new streets?
5. Have any steps been taken toward beautifying the streets by means of grass plots, planting of trees and shrubs, etc?
6. Have any provisions been made for establishing street or sidewalk widths or layout?
7. Are streets and sidewalks of business districts of hard surface materials?
8. Are streets and sidewalks of residential districts of hard surface material?
9. How many miles of streets has the town? How many miles are hard surface (not clay or dirt or gravel)?
10. How many miles of side walks has the town?
11. Is city or town located on a main trunk highway? If so, from what place to what place?
12. Has any provision been made for parks, playgrounds, community houses, etc?
13. What public buildings are not situated on public squares?
14. Check the following civic utilities which your town or city possesses: public swimming pool or baths, abattoir, public market, community house or recreation center, public comfort station, hospital, city parks, Y. M. or Y. W. C. A., fire house, public fountain, incinerator, playground, laundry, milk pasteurizing plant.
15. Has the city an electric railway?
16. What railroads pass through or adjacent to the town?

17. If more than one railroad, is there a union station?

18. What is distance and direction of station or stations from business center of town (thus, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N. E.)?

19. If not on a railroad, what distance is the nearest railway from center of town?

20. Is there a paid fire department?

21. Have you a town water supply? Is it adequate? Well or surface supply? Is it filtered? Is it privately owned? Does town own and operate it? What is hydrant pressure at center of town?

22. Have you a town sewerage system? Is it adequate? If there is sewage treatment, what is the method (i.e., septic tank, Imhoff tank, filters, etc.)?

23. Have you a town garbage collection and disposal system? What is type of garbage disposal (i.e. hog feeding, incineration, etc.)?

24. Have you a public lighting system? Is it privately or municipally owned and operated? Is it adequate? Is the power generated by steam or water? Is the power purchased?

25. What is the character of the chief industries in your town?

26. Have these completed or planned any housing developments?

27. Is there a housing shortage in your town? If so, about how many houses are needed?

28. Is the town situated on a river or on tide water? Do boats come to town? Are there municipally-owned docks? What is maximum draft that can come to town? If channel depths were increased would larger boats come to town? What percent of exports from town are shipped by water?

29. What specific recommendations have you for improving the aspect or usefulness of your town by city planning methods?

30. What definite handicaps are placed on the growth of the town by existing inadequate facilities or planning?

Signed by.....office held.....city.....date

Summary of Town and City Questionnaire Reports

Of the eighty-five schedules sent out to cities in the state having a population of 1,500 or more, sixty-nine were returned properly filled out. Answers to the more important inquiries may be summarized as follows:

Questions Asked	No. of cities answering Yes
1. Has your city taken steps toward establishing a city plan?.....	15
2. Has your city taken steps towards beautifying the streets?.....	39
3. Has your city a public swimming pool?.....	9
4. Has your city a municipal abattoir?.....	6
5. Has your city a community house?.....	10
6. Has your city any public playgrounds?.....	20

7. Has your city a city hospital?.....	26
8. Has your city a city park?.....	19
9. Has your city an incinerator?.....	8
10. Has your city a milk pasteurizing plant?.....	7
11. Has your city a city water supply?.....	64
Publicly owned?.....	57
From wells?.....	27
From surface streams?.....	37
12. Has your city a sewerage system?.....	59
13. Has your city a paid or partly paid fire department?.....	34
14. Have your industries planned or completed any housing developments?.....	28
15. Is there a housing shortage in your city?.....	59
16. Has your city any hard-surfaced streets?.....	50
Miles of hard-surface streets reported, 413.	
17. Has your city any hard-surface sidewalks?.....	57

Several of the larger cities failed to report definitely the number of miles of hard-surfaced sidewalks; the mileage returned by those which did so report was 915.7.

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February 7, 1921.

CHAPTER XIV

FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN CAROLINA

P. A. REAVIS, JR., FRANKLIN COUNTY

City government is a most important question for town and city dwellers in North Carolina and in every other state. There is widespread dissatisfaction about city office affairs. It is due (1) to the inevitable petty politics of the old aldermanic rule, (2) to rapidly rising property valuations and tax rates, (3) to increasing popular intelligence about civic affairs, and (4) in North Carolina, to the stimulus given non-partisan municipal government by the Town and County Conference held at the University on September 19-21, 1921. The secretaries of the various commercial bodies in the state have also stimulated the demand for improved municipal government. The University has been repeatedly called upon for information about the various kinds and forms of city government. Only a few months ago a chamber of commerce secretary in one of the principal cities of North Carolina was seeking information and gathering statistics in this particular field, and doing so under great difficulties.

To meet this need for information on part of the general public and to serve students who are interested in municipal problems, this summary of the situation has been prepared for the North Carolina Club and its Year-Book. It purposes to deal (1) with the general unrest, (2) the three primary forms of city government, (a) the aldermanic, (b) the commission, and (c) the city manager plans, and (3) the two secondary forms—the commission-manager and the aldermanic-manager plans. It purposes to go further into the matter and to consider (4) municipal government in North Carolina, the present plans in actual operation, and contemplated changes.

The Ancient Order of Things

Aldermanic city government, based on ward representation, ward politics, and ward bosses, is the old order of things in municipal affairs, and it clearly does not serve the needs of the present day. It will not suddenly become a thing of the past, but newer forms of city government are rapidly arising to remedy the irresponsible, inefficient, and wasteful city rule generally in force in the past. A more efficient government based fundamentally on business principles is gradually replacing the prevalent system of clumsy management by untrained people, lax economy and loose morals, to say nothing of favoritism, greed, and graft.

The cost of financing our cities and towns has grown into astounding proportions. Business efficiency and lower taxes versus politics and higher taxes, reform or bankruptcy—this is the clear choice that thoughtful taxpayers are facing in city management and municipal affairs here and there. And they are also aware that in this or that city taxes have been lowered without the loss of a single improvement or the sacrifice of a single worthy public cause. Communities as a whole are beginning to realize that social welfare depends upon civic honesty, civic outlook, and civic competency in the city hall. There can not be municipal progress without a form of government wisely planned, competently officered and properly supported. The entire super-structure of a city is dependent on good government.

To meet this need several forms of municipal government have sprung up within the last ten years. But before these are discussed it is fitting to glance briefly at the old aldermanic form that is still in general use by a large majority of the municipalities of North Carolina and the country-at-large. The aldermanic form is a loosely constructed, easily corrupted system, with rule or ample power to rule by the politicians or ward bosses, and not by the people. The voters, divided into wards or districts, elect an alderman or councilman from each ward, one, two, or three according to the population of the ward, the total number elected from all the wards forming the board of city control. In the larger cities this board in turn elects from its membership the city council, which council appoints from its members committees of three or more men to head the various departments of government. These departments are known as the department of public works, public finance, and so on, and the administration is left in the hands of these committees. Oftentimes the committee members are divergent in their views, with the result that a great many times the department fails to function or functions wastefully or corruptly. The people also elect a mayor and his assistants, such as the town clerk, the city attorney, and others. The mayor and his assistants form the executive section of the government although—and mark this—the same powers are vested in the council. The council and alderman form the legislative section of the government, while the mayor's court or the city court is the judicial section of city government. Thus in form the government of the smallest town is patterned after the national government, in that there are three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. All the different departments are in turn subject to both the mayor and the council, which two are often in conflict and controversy for political or personal reasons. Petitions must be acted upon by both the mayor and the council, and nothing can be done in the way of improvement until all the various factions get together; which consumes time, wastes public revenues and dissipates public interest in worthy public causes. Urgent improvements are delayed

or neglected or defeated. Long-drawn-out controversies, or prolonged silences, occur before urgent ordinances can be enacted, conditions remedied, or petitions acted upon. The various wards are almost always in the hands of political bosses or henchmen. Chance after chance is offered for political graft and corruption. There is no one final authority to which all the branches of the smallest or largest municipal government are amenable. The mayor is independent of the council and there is no legal tie between the two. Each is a separate authority responsible to nothing and nobody—except the voters at large, who do not know and never can find out who is really responsible for any specific action or for any specific failure to act. Usually the people have no recall power. Their powers cease when the election is over. Their only hope is a gambling chance that better officers will be elected at the next election. Meantime the city can be plunged into a sad state of affairs. It is this irresponsible, inefficient, unsatisfactory system that the great majority of our small towns and cities are operating under today.

The Commission Plan

The commission plan of city government has been wisely said to be both a protest and a policy; a protest against the old order, an intelligent policy for a new order. But the commission plan is but a transition stage, a structure to bridge the gap between the aldermanic plan and the city-manager plan, just as the share of stock has bridged the space between individual or partnership business and the corporation form of business organizations. The outgrowth of government by commission has been largely due to its success in Galveston. The following paragraphs are taken from *City Government by Commission*, by Woodruff, and they tell in a few words what the new plan did for that city:

“The floating debt of the city on January 1, 1901, after the great earthquake, as per the city auditor’s report, was \$204,974. This sum was reduced by the present administration, as per the recently adopted city budget, to \$22,000 without the issuance of a bond or one cent of additional taxation. It is also noted by the *Houston Post* that since the great storm, four years ago, \$75,000 has been expended for street paving, and in the budget adopted by the city commission a few days ago, the sum of \$30,000 is set aside for new paving, and there is another fund of \$23,000 for street improvement during the present fiscal year. The sum of \$31,200 is set apart for the maintenance of a charity hospital during the fiscal year, while \$2,000 is set aside for beautifying the parks and esplanades—the playgrounds of the people. The report of the city treasurer shows at the close of business last month \$332,646.25 cash on hand and \$500,000 in bonded depositories, paying the city 3 percent interest until it is needed in the grade-raising work.

“Such is Galveston. But a little over three years ago she was stricken

almost to death. Her credit became nil, her public buildings were demolished, and her streets were strewn with the wreckage of thousands of homes. Today, under the wise administration of a commission of five of the leading citizens, who disregard the clamour of the political spoilsman, and who work for patriotic motives, Galveston has a credit unsurpassed by any city in the South. Galveston's example in municipal thrift is a lesson which all cities should learn. It demonstrates what strictly business methods will accomplish, and is a powerful appeal for driving politics out of municipal affairs.'

The details of this plan are very simple. The voters with initiative, referendum and recall powers, elect a mayor and four or more councilmen, and a city court composed of a chief judge and as many associate judges as are necessary. This city court is an entirely separate organization and is not under the control of the commission, but is responsible only to the voters. Likewise the commission is also responsible to the voters. This commission is composed of the mayor and four or more councilmen. This gives five or more men each of whom respectively is responsible for some one of the departments, such as Public Affairs, Public Accounts and Finance, Public Works, Public Safety, Public Parks and Playgrounds, and so on. This commission, as has been said before, is the governing body and is subject only to the voters, the mayor acting as chairman of the commission.

The commission plan of government offers several benefits. The city is or can be operated on a business basis entirely. Any citizen who wishes to have anything done can call at the mayor's office where a majority of the councilmen always sit, and usually in less than an hour his complaint is attended to. There is no need for petitions, long hearings, and dissatisfaction as to policy, for the council is always as one, the majority ruling. Direct and easy nominating and electing of candidates is another important phase of this simplified plan of city government. The voters, too, are given the rights of initiative, referendum, and recall, with the right to elect new commissioners whenever the need arises. The voters use the short ballot which is much more important than is recognized by many, and so simple that it should be instantly welcomed as a great addition to the list of effective methods of securing good government. One of the most important powers of the commission is the power to appoint and remove all subordinate officers in the respective departments by a majority or unanimous vote of the council. Each commissioner represents the city as a whole, ward lines being ignored; and each voter votes for all the commissioners and for these alone, the clerical officials being hired and fired by the commission.

No single movement in the whole domain of municipal affairs has had the marvelous, rapid, and widespread growth of commission government in American cities. Fifteen states, and among them North Carolina,

now have general laws giving to the cities within their borders the opportunity to adopt this or any other plan.

The City-Manager Plan

The next plan of municipal government that we shall consider is the third and last of the primary forms of city government, the city-manager plan. During the last ten years 230 American and Canadian cities have changed their form of government to that of the city-manager plan. City-managers are being seriously advocated for such large cities as Chicago, Cleveland, and others. This plan originated in Staunton, Virginia, in 1908. It is in brief as follows: the people ignoring ward lines and using a non-partisan short ballot elect a council of popular representatives, who in turn hire, supervise, and control, with the power to remove, a well-paid, full-time, non-political city-manager, a man who is the chief executive for the entire municipality. He appoints, controls, supervises, and has the power to remove the heads of the various departments. These department heads control the rank and file of the administration. In this plan the people rule. They vote by means of the short ballot, and have initiative, referendum, and recall, with powers of protest and election when a need arises. In this plan the powers of government are vested in specialists, thereby vesting counsel in many minds but execution in the hands of one. System is substituted for ramshackleness. There is unification of powers which centralizes responsibility. Nevertheless it is essentially democratic because the people have the full rights of choice in setting up and pulling down the government they live under.

There has been such a vast mass of comment on the city-manager plan that it is hard to select, but the following quotations are worth considering:

"The city-manager plan of government has been tried and found to have the advantage of simplicity and directness of responsibility." (From a resolution of the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce, 1920, urging a law to permit Pennsylvania cities to adopt this plan.)

"I regard the commission-manager plan of municipal government as a marked advance over any hitherto tried in this country, from the standpoint of both efficiency and democracy." (Woodrow Wilson.)

"The people in general feel that the city-manager plan has been a success in every way in Elizabeth City." (Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Elizabeth City, N. C., a town of 9,000 population.)

As further evidence of the success of this plan, the following points are pertinent. They are taken from a booklet, the story of the City-Manager Plan, issued by the National Municipal League.

1. No city which has tried this plan has ever gone back to the old plan.

2. The plan spreads fastest in regions where it is best known, as

for instance in North Carolina where twelve cities have adopted it since 1913.

3. Numerous investigations have been made, not always friendly at the start, and the reports have been invariably favorable.

4. Four out of every five new charters now follow the city-manager plan.

5. Political scientists without exception consider it the best plan of city government, and the college political science courses teach it as accepted doctrine.

Between April, 1920, and May, 1921, the number of cities operating under the city-manager plan in the United States rose from 177 to 224. Here is a gain of more than twenty-five percent in a single year.

Besides the three primary forms of municipal government, just discussed, there are two secondary forms which demand brief attention. The most prevalent is possibly the commission-manager plan, although in several cities the aldermanic-manager plan is found. These two plans are simply combinations and adaptations of the three primary forms, namely, the aldermanic, the commission, and the city-manager forms; and to go into detail would demand more space than is allotted to this chapter. They are seldom seen and an explanation is perhaps unnecessary. In fact their existence in North Carolina is not known except in Greensboro which operates under the commission-manager plan—a plan that has been found successful in several large cities. It may indeed prove to be the best form of government for the larger cities, when the details are better determined and adjusted.

Under no plan is it easy to eliminate partisan politics and to substitute therefor competent business skill in the management of the business affairs of a city, but almost any plan affords a better chance for it than the old aldermanic plan of growth.

City Government Reforms in North Carolina

In considering the problem of city and town government in North Carolina, we shall do so with the city-manager plan foremost in mind. North Carolina has made wonderful progress of late years in municipal government reforms, but it has still a long and tedious journey ahead before the vast majority of our cities reach safe ground. Our city affairs are yet not by any means what they ought to be. Since 1913 there have been twelve towns and cities in the state to adopt the city-manager plan. The city of Greensboro has the commission-manager plan.

The following table of city manager-cities in North Carolina is of interest:

Cities	Population	Adopted
Hickory	5,076.....	May, 1913
Morganton	2,867.....	May, 1913
Elizabeth City	8,925.....	April, 1915
High Point	14,302.....	May, 1915
Thomasville	5,676.....	May, 1915
Morehead City	2,958.....	June, 1916
Goldsboro	11,296.....	July, 1917
Gastonia	12,871.....	Aug., 1919
Hendersonville	3,720.....	July, 1920
Durham	21,719.....	May, 1921
Greensboro	19,861.....	May, 1921
Reidsville	5,333.....	May, 1921

Eight out of these twelve cities secured the manager-plan of government through amended charters or through new charters, while the other four made the change by means of council ordinances and popular approval. The present law of North Carolina provides that any city can amend or repeal its charter or adopt a new charter, and thus provide for government by either the aldermanic, the commission, or the city-manager plan, the choice to be left to each municipality. In North Carolina people are free to choose the form of government they wish to live under in their cities, and in this particular the state stands ahead of most other states of the Union.

Our larger cities are usually centers of industrial life, making it necessary to consider the labor element. But organized labor for various reasons usually favors the commission-manager and the city-manager forms of municipal government.

For the larger cities of the state the commission-manager plan is excellent, for it allows the wise counsel that the municipal affairs of a large city demand. It is expensive, as a rule.

There are, however, no cities in North Carolina too large for the city-manager plan, and on the whole this plan is to be preferred. It is less expensive and it need not be less effective.

In our large cities a commission of three or five men can act just as intelligently and far more coöperatively than can seven or nine, and the routine work of a department executive is not too heavy when given adequate clerical help.

Most cities of fewer than 15,000 inhabitants will find the city-manager plan the least expensive and the best. No matter whether the city be mainly industrial or mainly residential, a few competent men can be secured who will act as a commission meeting once a week. In the smaller towns these men will usually give their time gratis, for they realize that what is best in government for the people as a whole is best for them as individual citizens. Under all the new plans they are either

responsible department executives, or advisers of a city-manager with full authority to act.

One of the most important details of the new plan is the city-manager himself. Fortunately there is now a course in city-management covering four years of work and study in the school of commerce at the University of North Carolina and in a few years our cities may look this way for trained men in a heretofore undersized profession. The college graduate will usually begin work on a small salary, if only he may expect a larger salary if he succeeds or stands a chance of rising to a higher place in a larger town. Unless he is a very poor business man and manager he will save the city the very first year two or three times the amount of his salary.

The direct city-manager plan, then, is better than any other now in use or that has yet been advocated for the small town, since it places the administration of town affairs under a trained and competent man who gives his whole time to the administration of town affairs. It eliminates unnecessary expense, but still leaves the people in control of their government through the initiative, referendum, and recall powers.

In concluding this summary of municipal government, let me say that the main question resolves itself to this: will the people of North Carolina let conservatism get the better of sound reasoning, or will they adopt a liberal-minded attitude and accept a form of town and city government that is a proven success in twelve cities of this state and in nearly 250 cities of the United States?

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CHAPTER XV

MUNICIPAL FINANCE AND FINANCIAL METHODS

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The problem of city finance is as old as cities are. Obtaining enough money to function a municipality completely and to support all its activities properly without extracting too much from the people in taxes has always been a problem. But never in the past has the raising, handling, and expending of city revenues been such a complicated problem as it is at present. The modern city is constantly adding to the list of public services and just as constantly realizing that each new activity means new expense. City governments are developing new ways of serving their constituencies, taking larger measures to make community life more desirable, and increasing the scope of municipal utilities in general. New public enterprises are constantly being initiated and old enterprises expanded. The city is taking upon itself to a large extent the task of looking out for the health and comfort, progress and prosperity of its citizens. More and more money is being spent on the courts, juvenile courts, domestic relations courts, police protection, fire departments, recreation, schools, public sanitation, public health, public health laboratories, clinics and dispensaries, pasteurized milk stations, parks, playgrounds and recreation, sewer mains, paved streets and sidewalks. The bonded debt increases, current expense increases, the interest burden increases, and taxes increase accordingly. The per capita cost of maintaining the complex activities of a city of the first class is sixteen times multiplied during the last one hundred years. It is with this increase of administrative costs in mind that we present an analysis of the finances of the three leading cities of North Carolina, along with a study of municipal financial methods in general, and a consideration of some new sources and means of raising greater revenues. What we shall attempt to do in this paper will be (1) to examine the expenditures of Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and Wilmington in comparison with those of other cities of their class in the country-at-large, (2) to make an analysis of the revenues of the North Carolina cities, (3) to discuss the defects in our revenue systems and the remedies for these defects, (4) to discuss methods of efficient handling and expending the income of cities, and (5) to arrive at some conclusions from these facts.

In considering the matter of increased revenue we should keep in mind the fundamental fact that all revenue raised, no matter in what form or by what means, must come from the people; but also the fact that

whatever the people pay out is or ought to be paid back to them in some form of service by the city. The people have a right to receive full benefit from what they pay out in taxes, and what they gain in low taxes they usually lose in the lack of civic facilities and living conditions.

Expenditures and the Cost of City Government

Let us first examine the finances of the three North Carolina cities about whose finances we have authoritative data. In order to show just how we stand in the matter of municipal taxation, sources of city revenue, average expenditures and their distribution in North Carolina cities, we have used the Financial Statistics of Cities in 1918, a bulletin of the Federal Census Bureau. These were the latest figures available at the time this study was being made. All the data used in this report refer therefore to the year 1918, except where otherwise stated. There are only three cities of 30,000 inhabitants or more in the state, Charlotte, Winston-Salem, and Wilmington, and so the average for North Carolina means the average for these three cities.

Let us first consider the subject of municipal expenditures and see what the cost of city government in North Carolina is, when compared with similar costs elsewhere. According to the statistics used in this report, the cost of city government in the three cities of North Carolina with 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants in 1918 was \$21.48 per capita. This is \$5.50 per capita less than the average for the whole group of such cities in the United States. The figures represent all governmental cost payments, and it thus appears that the amount spent in North Carolina for municipal government is relatively small. Governmental costs per capita for payments for expenses of general departments in cities having a population of 30,000 to 50,000 in North Carolina and the United States in 1918 were as follows:

Cost Per Inhabitant

	Per Capita N. C.	Per Capita U. S.
General government.....	\$.080	\$1.20
Police, fire, etc.....	2.22	3.00
Conservation of health.....	.28	.33
Sanitation.....	1.10	1.08
Highways.....	1.41	1.88
Charities, hospitals, etc.....	.54	.55
Schools and libraries.....	3.41	6.11
Recreation.....	.02	.41
Miscellaneous.....	.00	.15
General.....	.20	.22
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$9.98	\$14.93

The percent distribution of the expenses of general departments in these North Carolina cities and in the entire group of such cities in the United States in 1918 was as follows:

Percent Distribution

	N. C. Percent	U. S. Percent
General government.....	8.0	8.1
Police, fire, etc.....	22.3	20.1
Conservation of health.....	2.8	2.2
Sanitation.....	11.0	7.2
Highways.....	14.1	12.6
Charities.....	5.4	3.7
Schools and libraries.....	34.2	40.9
Recreation	0.2	2.8
Miscellaneous.....	....	1.0
General.....	2.0	1.5
	<hr/> 100.	<hr/> 100.

It will be seen that North Carolina cities devote a larger percent of their expenditures to the protection of property, the conservation of health and the building and maintenance of highways than other cities of their class in the United States. Which does not mean however that they are spending more per inhabitant for these purposes. As a matter of fact they are expending less per inhabitant for every municipal purpose, except sanitation.

Analysis of Revenues

Let us now consider the various revenues of Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and Wilmington, as compared with those of other cities of the same size in other states. In order to get a fair basis of comparison, the averages for the ten smallest cities of over 30,000 population in the United States have been worked out. The average for all cities with population above 30,000 in the United States has been calculated, and will be used whenever it is considered of value.

Let us first look at the sources of revenue and the percents they make of the total revenues received in 1918. Here we have an index of the use our cities are making of each source of revenue.

The sources of revenue receipts in cities of 30,000 or more population in North Carolina and the United States, and the percent distribution of these receipts in 1918 were as follows:

Sources of Revenue

	N. C. Percent	U. S. Percent
Property tax.....	51.7	64.2
Poll tax.....	1.3	0.2
Business and non-business license.....	5.5	5.9
Assessments and charges for outlays.....	7.3	6.5
Fines, forfeits, and escheats.....	0.9	0.5
Subventions, grants, gifts, donations, and pension assessments.....	8.9	4.1
Earnings of general departments.....	4.1	2.6
Highways privileges, rents and interest.....	1.5	5.6
Earnings of public service enterprises.....	18.8	10.4
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0

The amount of municipal revenue in our three largest cities was relatively low in 1918. It was \$18.92 per inhabitant, while the average for all cities in the United States was \$32.75 per inhabitant. For all cities of their class (with 30,000 to 50,000 population) the average was \$24.42 per inhabitant, and for the ten smallest cities it was \$21.04. These figures include all forms of revenue—taxes, licenses, subventions, special assessments, fines, street privileges, earnings of public service enterprises, etc.

Now let us compare the amounts received from each source so that we can see just where and why they are not getting as much revenue as other cities of the same size.

It appears that the receipts from taxes on property are relatively low in the large cities of North Carolina. In fact, the amount of property tax received by the three cities of the state reviewed in this study, was as low as \$9.79 per inhabitant. This is only forty-seven percent of the average for all the cities of the United States, and \$4.36 less per person than the average for the ten smallest cities of this class. The property tax comprises only 51.7 percent of the total revenue of these three North Carolina cities, while it amounts to as much as 64.2 percent of the total revenue of all cities of the country-at-large.

A few instances will further bear out the statement that our city property taxes as a rule are low. The general property tax of Charlotte in 1919 was only \$1.50 per \$100 of assessed values, that of Winston-Salem \$2.00, and that of Wilmington, the highest, \$2.10. While Wilmington had the highest rate of all the larger cities of the state it was not as high as that of certain other cities of the same size and wealth in other states. La Crosse, Wisconsin, had a total of assessed property nearer to that of Wilmington than any other city that could be found, the amount of property on the tax books in both cities being almost

exactly the same. But Wilmington received about \$60,000 less from her property tax than La Crosse in 1918, and yet Wilmington has the highest tax rate of any large city in the state. Municipal property taxes in North Carolina range from a rate of six cents per one hundred dollars in Lawndale to \$2.78 in Greenville. The rates of the smaller cities and larger towns show up fairly well. Some of these have property tax rates that should enable them to enjoy all the advantages that modern city civilization affords. Dunn has a rate of \$2.10, Cherryville \$1.50, and Hendersonville \$1.70. It is noticeable in almost every case that the progressive towns that have made great advances in the last few years have moderately high tax rates. The tax rates of some of our largest towns and cities are far below those of many small towns. We find, for instance, that as large a place as Goldsboro has a property tax rate of only ninety-four cents per \$100. The rate of Fayetteville is \$1.00, that of Morganton ninety cents, and that of Salisbury \$1.30.

But the rates of certain towns and villages are surprising. Numerous incorporated small-towns in North Carolina have tax rates of ten cents, fifteen cents, and twenty cents per one hundred dollars of taxable property. How can towns with such tax rates expect to have any of the advantages that town life should afford? As a matter of fact they do not have them, and they do not increase in population, in business enterprises and profits, or in wealth and attractiveness, as the 1920 census amply demonstrates.

However, the cities of this state make better use of the poll tax, or street tax, than the other cities of the United States. But this is a small matter, for the poll tax yields only 1.3 percent of the revenues of our cities, and a still smaller percent of the income of the cities in other states.

North Carolina cities, with the exception of Winston-Salem, compare favorably with the cities of other states in license tax revenues. Under this head is included business and non-business taxes, collected with or without the issue of licenses. There are various kinds of business and non-business taxes, which include dog taxes, automobile and other vehicle taxes, and various other permits. The average revenue from license taxes in the ten smallest cities with 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, in the United States is \$1.13 per inhabitant, that of Charlotte \$1.59, that of Wilmington \$1.31, but that of Winston-Salem is only ten cents per inhabitant. Winston-Salem received from business license taxes in 1918 only \$849, and from non-business license taxes only \$2,628. This city received very little from licenses and permits in general and absolutely nothing from dog taxes. While the dog tax may appear insignificant at first we see that it is a source that brings Wilmington, \$1,340 a year, Charlotte \$239, and as much as \$3,000 in some other cities of the United States.

Special assessments and special charges for outlays depend on con-

ditions and vary from year to year. By special assessments we mean proportional contributions of wealth levied against land and collected from the owners to defray the costs of public improvements. This kind of revenue can be expended only for those public improvements and public services which are of special value to the property owners and for improvements from which plainly perceived benefit ensues to the property owner or occupant. Special charges for outlays differ from special assessments only in the method of collection. The average of such revenues in 1918 in Winston-Salem, Charlotte and Wilmington was a little less than that for the ten smallest cities of the 30,000-50,000 class in the United States—\$1.38 against \$1.60.

The revenue received from fines, forfeits, and escheats is very little. By fines we mean the amounts extracted from individuals, firms, and corporations for the violation of law. Forfeits are amounts accruing to governments according to terms of contracts as penalties for the non-observance of such contracts. Escheats are amounts derived from the disposal of property the owners of which cannot be ascertained or located. Practically all the revenues of this class come from court fines. From this source our city treasuries received revenues averaging one cent per inhabitant in Wilmington during 1918, and forty cents per inhabitant in Winston-Salem. The average for the three cities was eighteen cents per inhabitant. Either Wilmington is excessively law-abiding or the officials are excessively lax.

The only subventions received during the year in these three cities were from the home counties for public education. Because of the nature of the source of this revenue it is of small account in our study.

Thus we see that at the present our cities are hampered by the lack of funds with which to exercise the various functions of city government. Our cities are fast seeing the need of expanding their services and are taking into their hands to a larger degree than ever before the duties of providing for the comfort and welfare of their inhabitants, and if they are to expand their functions and give the people the services that the more progressive cities of other states are offering they must have larger revenues.

In order to see further into the financial condition of our cities let us see the amount of money required to meet expenses, how much for interest on bonds and borrowed money, and how much is left available for outlays and other purposes. The portion of the total revenue required for meeting current expenses in the average city of the United States is 66.3 percent against 64.3 percent in North Carolina cities. City government in this state costs less per inhabitant than the average in other states, both because a much larger per capita revenue is received by the cities of the country-at-large, and because a larger percent of these revenues is spent upon the expenses of city government. This statement

of course includes all ten of the municipal departments, such as general government, fire and police protection, sanitation, education, etc. Municipal interest charges outside North Carolina are 13.3 percent while the average in North Carolina is above 17 percent. When the amount required for current expenses and interest is subtracted from the total revenue, 20.4 percent is left available for outlays and other purposes in the cities of the United States, but only 17.3 percent of the total revenue of North Carolina cities is left available for outlays for permanent improvements, and other purposes. These figures are based on the 1918 statistics, and there would naturally be some changes in the details of city expense of government since that date.

Defects and Remedies

In order to see the defects of our present municipal revenue systems, let us look once more at the figures and the comparisons that have been made, so as to see just what these facts mean. It is clear, I think, that our principal weakness lies in our general property tax. In all other sources of municipal tax revenue, with the exception of the license tax, we compare favorably with the cities of other states. In earnings of general departments we are a few cents per capita ahead, and in income from street privilege and rents, we are a little behind, in poll tax a little ahead, and the margin of profit earned by public service enterprises is slightly greater in North Carolina than in other cities of the United States. A principal reason why Charlotte and Wilmington and the smaller cities lack revenue lies in an insufficient property tax. In the case of Winston-Salem, the outstanding reason is the low property tax and the lack of license tax revenues combined.

In the case of many of our towns and cities this weakness is so great that the general property tax could be raised considerably without over-burdening the taxpayers. We could not expect some of our cities to develop necessary utilities and desirable public services on their present tax rates. The outstanding defect in city finance in our home cities is low property valuations and low property tax rates—that is to say, low when compared with progressive cities in other states. For instance the property tax for schools alone is \$3.40 per \$100 in Ontario, and in many another California town.

But the fact that property taxes are low is not the worst part of the situation. The difficulty is that in many cases the tax cannot be raised until some new legislation is enacted. At the special session of the Legislature in August 1920 an amendment to the municipal act was adopted which limited the towns and cities of the state to a maximum general property tax of fifty cents on the \$100 of assessed values for general purposes—police and fire protection, health and sanitation, etc. It does not cover school taxes or taxes for interest on bonds. In some

cities this law forces a lowering of the 1918 tax rates, but in some cases it leaves room for an increase. The fifty-cent limit has resulted in genuine distress in almost all our larger cities. At a meeting of the State Municipal Association a few weeks ago town and city officials declared that it was impossible for them to meet their general expenses under the fifty-cent limit. Many reported that their cities are just managing to exist, and others are said to have been forced into a violation of the law. They were obliged to levy a rate higher than that authorized by the Municipal Act. (Just as we go to press with this chapter, we learn that the special session of the legislature in December, 1921, relieved the cities of the state by amending the Municipal Act of the year before.)

But there are other defects. Under our new system of taxation the schools and the state government are amply provided for, but the financial needs of the cities have become more and more urgent. One of the heaviest expenses of a city government is the maintenance of an efficient police force and courts to enforce the laws and ordinances and to maintain law and order. Under the present system all fines, forfeitures, and penalties imposed for the violation of law go to the state school fund and only the actual costs go into the local treasury. Now the state constitution says: "All fines, forfeitures and penalties imposed for the violation of the military or penal laws of the state shall go into the school fund. (Notice that the constitution says military or penal laws.) The State Revenue Act says that all fines, forfeitures, and penalties in behalf of the state (mark the word state) go to the school fund, etc. The organic and statute law of the state makes fines, forfeitures, and penalties a state matter. It does not seem to have any relation to the finances of towns and cities. But let us go back a few years and see why it affects the cities. Some years ago the receipts of the local courts for the violation of town ordinances went into the local treasury to help pay the expenses of local government, and the fines for state offenses went into the school fund in accordance with the requirements of the state constitution. But a few years ago the state board of education, hunting for badly needed revenues, had the legislature enact a statute making the violation of a town or city ordinance a misdemeanor and an offense against the state, thereby taking from the towns a greatly needed revenue.

There is still another outstanding defect in our revenue system. This is the gross discrimination between the trades, businesses, and professions that are called on to pay privilege or occupation taxes. Section five of the revenue or machinery act says that every practicing physician, lawyer, dentist, optician, oculist, osteopath, photographer, architect, insurance adjuster, electrical engineer, chiropractor, civil engineer, or any person practicing the art of healing shall pay to the state the sum of five dollars per annum. It further provides that "no city, county, or town shall

impose any additional license tax against these professional people," notwithstanding the fact that these are the very persons who are the greatest beneficiaries of city privileges, such as schools, paved streets, water, lights, and other community privileges that attract increasing populations. This provision is enforced while the merchant, the miller, the butcher, the baker, the blacksmith, jitney driver, banker, barber and others are required to pay a special tax for the privilege of living and doing business in our towns and cities.

But what can we do with these defects? In the first case the municipal tax limit of fifty cents on the \$100 of property can be removed by legislative sanctions. What one legislature has done, another can undo. A bill providing for raising the tax rate to one dollar has just been brought before the Legislature at its present session. The measure has passed in the House of Representatives and is now awaiting the action of the Senate.*

Another piece of legislation that should be enacted is the repeal of the section of the revenue act requiring that fines imposed for the violation of town and city ordinances shall go to the local school fund. The towns need this money and they ought to have it. The schools are much better provided for now than they were when this law was enacted, and the towns, on the other hand, are badly in need of it. Such fines naturally belong to the towns, and they should not be deprived of this revenue.

These gross discriminations against towns and cities in levying license and special privilege taxes should be removed. There is no reason why people in certain businesses and trades should have to pay a tax while those in other trades and professions are not taxed. The taxed and the untaxed are equally great beneficiaries of town privileges. In some cases those who are not taxed receive even greater benefit from city privileges and facilities than those who are taxed. But whether or not there is discrimination, there are certain professions which should be taxed. When a person engaged in a certain business receives many times more service out of certain city facilities and utilities, such as the streets, than the ordinary citizen, that person should pay a special privilege or license tax. It is on this principle that a jitney owner who uses the streets much more than the ordinary car owner, and who uses them as a means of income, is required to pay a license tax. Thus, to remove unjust discriminations and to obtain some of the much needed revenue, the legislature should give the towns the privilege of levying taxes on the following objects and businesses:

(1) On moving picture and vaudeville shows—a reasonable tax based on the population.

* Since this was written this measure has been passed in the Senate.

(2) On circuses, menageries, wild-west, dog, and pony shows—a tax equal to that levied by the state.

(3) On each of the professions in the following list, the same tax as that levied by the state, which is five dollars per annum: Practicing lawyers, physicians, dentists, oculists, photographers, opticians, optometrists, osteopaths, architects, veterinary surgeons, fire insurance adjusters, electrical engineers, chiropractors, civil engineers, and all persons practicing any professed art of healing for fee or reward.

(4) On all dealers in horses and mules—a tax of not less than twenty dollars.

(5) On sewing machine agents—a tax equal to that levied by the state.

(6) A reasonable tax on oil companies selling certain oils and doing business in any incorporated city or town and using the public streets of the city or town for the purpose of conducting business whether or not the offices or places of business of the said companies are located within or without the said city limit.

(7) On telephone and telegraph companies—a graduated tax based on the population, such a tax in no case to be less than twenty-five dollars.

For additional local revenues, the following taxes might be levied: A higher carnival tax, a dance-hall license tax, a public-dray license, higher pool-table tax, a tax on transient merchants, a vehicle tax, and an auctioneer's tax. Some of these taxes ought to be high enough to be practically prohibitive.

Some of these are new sources of revenue while others are merely an increase of taxes already existing. The revenue from these sources would bring the towns and cities thousands of dollars of additional income each year.

Most of our difficulties in municipal finance have been created by state law and can be removed only by legislative enactment. The general financial administration of municipalities in North Carolina is an open field for improvement. The loose financial systems—or sometimes lack of system—are well known to most of us. The defects of our financial methods are different in different municipalities, and remedies must be worked out according to the peculiar needs of each town.

However, one defect that is common to the financial administration of practically all our municipalities is the lack of a uniform system of accounting and reporting. We need a system whereby cost-units are reckoned in each department of every city. There is no way in which a taxpayer of a city can know whether or not his city government is inefficient, extravagant and wasteful, except by comparing his city with other cities on this basis. On no other basis can a city administration be fairly criticised, and budgets properly determined. This matter, however, is more fully discussed elsewhere in the Year-Book.

There is one way in which the financial administration of our cities

should be limited. The power of the cities to create indebtedness should be better safeguarded than at the present. Under the present clause of "necessary expense" the cities are given wide privilege and can go too far in this matter. It is said that in some of our cities this privilege has been almost criminally abused.

Another need of our cities is a proper use of the budget. Under an amendment to the Municipal Act every municipality is required to make out a budget, but we do not know in any authoritative way to what extent our municipalities are observing this law. Budgets which are prepared merely to comply with the law, and which are practically disregarded after they are made out, are of little value. The fact that state law requires our cities to lay out budgets is no indication of what use is made of them after they are adopted.

The collection of taxes is another matter in which we are weak, according to figures taken from the report of the North Carolina Tax Commission. In the small towns this is a matter more of personal efficiency than of any certain system, but in the larger cities it is a case of organization plus personal efficiency. We could not go into the details of revenue collections, bookkeeping, and office procedure in the different towns and the needs peculiar to each town, for this would require a survey that would be beyond the scope of our present study.

In the foregoing pages, revenue raising has been directed towards new sources and to enlarging or creating new sources by law. But now let us direct our attention to the sources that we already have. It is doubtful wisdom for a city to devote time and energy to hunting up new sources of revenue, if meantime it fails to obtain maximum results from the sources of revenue it already possesses. In North Carolina it is the small-towns especially that could profit by making better uses of their present sources. The best way for many of these little towns to increase their income is to make a better use of the property tax. When a town has a property tax as low as fifteen to forty-five cents it is obvious that the first thing to do is to raise the general property tax—the principal source of all city revenue.

If the figures of the State Tax Commission are correct it is evident that our cities do not receive full benefit from the tax rates they already have. It appears that the amount of uncollected taxes in some of our municipalities is astonishingly high. The amount of city taxes reported uncollected in Greensboro was \$9,260 in 1918; in Durham \$82,433; in Charlotte \$142,781; in Burlington \$21,845; in High Point \$21,577; in Monroe \$11,151; in Mount Airy \$19,782; in New Bern \$32,658; in Salisbury \$23,502; in Wilmington \$23,540; in Winston-Salem \$28,224; the total in the entire state being \$770,000. And mind you 1918 was our most prosperous year. The amount of uncollected tax in our small-towns is relatively large, their size considered. To what extent we can rely on

these figures we do not know. It is possible that most of these collections were made after the Commission Report had gone to press. Nevertheless it is fairly clear that we have room to improve in the administration of our present municipal tax system.

The Efficient Use, Handling, and Expenditure of Funds

One of the most important matters of financial administration is the efficient use, handling, and expenditure of city revenues after they are secured. In the handling of city incomes much can either be saved or wasted. The financial administration of a city must be thoroughly well organized in order to secure efficiency and to make the best use of city funds.

The variety and complexity of business activities and dealings in city hall offices calls for a closely unified system if adequate results are passed on to the taxpayers. Just what a city administration is called on to do is to make every cent of tax money spent count the most in benefit to the taxpayers. All leaks and unnecessary expenditures must be stopped. Two of the most important factors in securing this end are, (1) a proper system of municipal bookkeeping and office procedures, and (2) proper auditing and reporting. A large saving can sometimes be effected by keeping the smallest possible open bank balance and the largest possible surplus on savings account.

An important means of eliminating waste is an adequate system of certifying and endorsing all bills and warrants against the city. The method of doing this in a small-town would necessarily be different from that in a city. In a small-town it should be required that every bill against the town be brought to a certain official of the city for examination and certification before it is ordered paid. In large cities this is the work of the auditor. In such cities all claims against the city would be audited by this officer, who also acts in many cities as a check on all departments of city government, including the treasurer and the comptroller, who must report all receipts to him daily. In some of the largest cities of the country there are special bureaus of investigation and examination in addition to the regular corps of auditors, and the result is a saving of many thousands of dollars annually. The following are some questions that might well be considered before certifying bills against a city:

1. Has the bill been paid?
2. Has an appropriation been made to meet the expenditure and is there a sufficient balance to pay the bill?
3. Are the items of the bill correctly stated?
4. Is the proof of delivery sufficient?
5. Is the bill prepared in such a way as to admit of filing?

A uniform system of municipal accounts is one of the greatest needs

of city government today. No matter how efficient a system of accounting may be, if it is not uniform with that of other cities in the state the best results cannot be obtained because the costs of city government cannot be compared. Such a system is needed in this state.

With a uniform system of municipal accounts the costs of city government in the various cities can be compared. The cost of fire protection or street cleaning in one city can be compared with that in other cities throughout the state. But where each city has a different system and similar expenses are charged to different accounts, no such comparison can be made. When a comparison of cost-units in city government can be made the expenses of a city can frequently be reduced. A city where the unit-cost of fire protection is high, by comparing and studying the methods used in a city where the cost is low, has a chance to reduce the cost of its fire department, and even to increase its efficiency.

Uniform municipal accounts enable the city officials to issue uniform reports. They enable city officials to fill out the uniform reports required by the state, but with the systems or lack of systems in some of our cities it is difficult or impossible to do this properly as required by law. A system of reports, audits, and statistical analysis which would insure accuracy, publicity, and economy in the financial operations of all the cities and towns is needed in this state, and the inauguration of such a system might well be demanded by the taxpayers. Uniform reports of course require uniform accounting.

In financing public improvements the usual method is to issue bonds. In North Carolina the rate on these bonds usually ranges from four to six percent. The law provides for a special tax for the purpose of paying the interest on bonds and for creating sinking funds with which to liquidate the bonds on maturity. How generally sinking funds are created and how promptly interest is paid is a matter calling for a particular survey and report at another time. The subject is extremely important in North Carolina.

A part of municipal administration that has come to be recognized as of great importance in the proper handling of the city revenue is budget-making. The cities of the country have been forced by revenue necessities to develop budget systems to take the place of the haphazard methods that formerly prevailed. As yet only a few of our cities prepare any real budget—that is, accompany a tax levy with details of appropriations. This form of budget, however, has been growing in favor and in time will undoubtedly be used by all the largest cities of the country. The first step in the preparation of a budget is the call for estimates from the department heads. The estimates are statements of the anticipated receipts and expenses. City councils or commissioners find that each department calls for more money than it expects to receive, so upon someone must fall the thankless job of cutting down or readjusting the esti-

mates. This task requires so much study of details that it can most conveniently be performed by one person or at the most two or three. The budget after being made out is passed on by the city council or some other law-making board of the city. But the real benefit comes from the right use of the budget. It must be made out with the expectation and the requirement of living up to it, as far as it is humanly possible. To a certain extent cities should be required to confine their expenditures to the budgets published, for by doing so the responsibility for a deficit or debt created in any certain department can be placed definitely on the executive who is responsible for it, and this will insure a more careful use and expenditure of money.

But it is not possible for human foresight to anticipate all the needs of a city a year in advance. An emergency might arise that would necessitate the spending of more money than was appropriated. There are however, a number of ways of providing for this. In particular there are three general methods of providing for such needed funds. A revision of the budget has been customary in some cities. This method has the advantage of making it possible to begin the year with clear accounts, but it has the disadvantage of lessening the importance of the original budget, and it leads to extravagance. The transfer of money from one appropriation to another is a common method, but this complicates the accounts. The least confusing and most efficient way lies in providing a sufficient margin of revenue to meet emergencies. Such a fund, however, offers a great temptation. It is very difficult to keep appropriations within reasonable bounds if there is a considerable sum of money open to departmental raids. While our cities could not well be confined to the exact appropriations, it appears advisable—and there is some demand—that our North Carolina cities be required to keep closer to their budgets than they do at present. This would make it necessary for each official to make a closer study of the needs of his special department. It would serve as a check on expenditures, and practically eliminate pork-barrel legislation. It would also let the people of the city know in advance almost the exact amount that is being spent for each city activity, and with the people advised about just what is spent for each object or purpose and just what results are being obtained from this expenditure, the officials of the city would know that it is necessary for them to show proper results for what is being spent and to make all expenditures count in maximum ways.

Conclusions and Suggestions

In the light of these facts, it is not easily possible to feel gratified over municipal finances in general in this state. We have seen many things that must be done if we are to have efficient municipal administration. No state or community so favored as North Carolina with

waterpowers, productive soils, advantageous seasons, and other resources can afford to handicap its potential advantages by disregarding the need for up-to-date municipal organization, machinery, and methods. In the future the rating of municipalities for purposes of residence, business, and public credit will depend in a large measure upon such factors as now prevail in the rating of business corporations, namely accurate knowledge of the financial and managerial status of the enterprise and of the present benefits and probable future values of personal and financial participation in the enterprise.

In conclusion the following suggestions are submitted:

1. The legislature should remove the fifty-cent limit on the city property tax rate levied for general expenses; also the discriminations existing in the levying of special and license taxes on businesses, trades, and professions.

2. The state should develop and gradually put into operation a system of uniform municipal accounts and reports.

3. Further legislation should be considered concerning budgets and their proper use.

Summary of City Finances

Based on (1) The Financial Statistics of Cities 1918, a Federal Census Bureau Bulletin, and (2) Press Summaries of the Census Bureau, for the year ending May 31, 1921.

Per Capita Costs:

	1917-18	1920-21
All U. S. cities, 30,000 population or more.....	\$34.16	
Ten largest cities, over 500,000 population.....	40.16	
Ten smallest cities, 30,000-50,000 group.....	21.31	
Winston-Salem, N. C.....	24.61*	\$39.46
Charlotte, N. C.....	18.19*	25.12
Wilmington, N. C.....	15.60*	32.86

Percent Revenues from property tax:

All U. S. cities, 30,000 population or more.....	64.2	
Ten largest cities, over 500,000.....	66.7	
Winston-Salem, N. C.....	51.3	50.8
Charlotte, N. C.....	48.0	47.7
Wilmington, N. C.....	57.5	65.3

Total Expenditures:

Winston-Salem, N. C.....	\$970,161	\$1,969,960
Charlotte, N. C.....	792,661	1,193,163
Wilmington, N. C.....	498,886	1,116,868

* Revised on basis of 1920 census of population.

MUNICIPAL FINANCES IN WINSTON-SALEM, CHARLOTTE, AND WILMINGTON

FISCAL YEAR ENDING MAY 31

Based on Press Summaries, Federal Census Bureau, November 7, 1921, and February 1, 1922
Miss Henrietta R. Smedes, Rural Social Economics Department, University of North Carolina

	Winston-Salem	Charlotte	Wilmington
Expenditures, total 1920-21.....	\$1,969,960.00	\$1,193,163.00	\$1,116,868.00
1917-18.....	970,161.00	792,661.00	498,886.00
Expenditures, per capita, 1920-21:			
General departments	\$16.60	\$15.33	\$18.08
Public service enterprises.....	3.40	2.93	3.84
Interest payments	4.66	3.30	4.08
Outlays	14.80	3.56	6.76
Expenditures, per capita, 1917-18.....	39.46	25.12	32.86
Revenue receipts, total, 1920-21.....	24.61	18.19	15.60
Revenue receipts, per capita, 1920-21.....	1,350,367.00	914,217.00	868,752.00
Excess of expenditures over receipts, per capita, 1920-21.....	27.05	19.25	25.56
Property taxes, per capita, 1920-21.....	12.41	5.87	7.30
1917-18.....	13.75	9.20	16.67
	8.58	8.56	9.95
Increase in total amount of property taxes collected, 1918 to 1921, percent.....	102.9	54.0	78.1
Percent of revenue represented by property taxes, 1920-21	50.8	47.7	65.2
1917-18	51.3	48.0	57.5
Percent of revenue represented by earnings of city- operated public service enterprises, 1920-21.....	13.3	18.0	13.2
1917-18.....	17.6	23.7	13.2
Percent of revenue represented by business and non- business licenses, 1920-21.....	2.7	10.0	8.7
1917-18.....	0.5	8.4	7.2
Per capita net indebtedness (funded and floating debt less sinking fund assets), 1920-21.....	\$ 58.25	\$ 57.93	\$ 75.45
1917-18.....	51.29	51.44	60.55
Per capita tax levies, 1920-21:			
City	\$13.63	\$10.84	\$13.44
School district	2.96
State	2.95	2.56	1.75
County	5.00	7.59	5.10
Total.....	\$ 21.58	\$ 20.99	\$ 23.25

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CHAPTER XVI

MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTING IN NORTH CAROLINA

PHILLIP HETTLEMAN, WAYNE COUNTY

Perhaps the most needed and the least discussed reform in the cities of North Carolina is that of municipal accounting. For a moment it may appear that this is a broad statement, when our health problem, child welfare problem, and other similar problems are considered, but it is only when one realizes how much these reforms depend on adequate financial methods, that this paramount issue can be properly appreciated. Why it is the least talked of is readily understood when it is realized that so few of our reformers know anything of the technical side of accounting. And as a general rule the officials who control the finances of the city know just as little about the proposition as do the reformers.

In order to ascertain just how North Carolina cities stood in this connection a questionnaire was sent to the 83 municipalities of the state having a population of 1,500 or over. The report which follows is based mainly on the returns of forty of these municipalities.

In the outset, it must be realized that the cities having the best systems were more eager to report than others, and it is probable that many of the cities which did not report use only a cash-received-cash-paid system of books. We have however an adequate supply of material to consider, as practically half of our municipalities are represented in the replies received.

1. The first question on the schedule was aimed at determining whether our cities used a single- or a double-entry system of books. Seven or practically one-sixth of the forty reporting cities still adhere to the old single-entry system. There is only one satisfactory method of book-keeping for a city of this size and that is a double-entry system. In a single-entry system it is only possible to draw up a balance sheet and to determine a proprietorship account where a private business is concerned. Such a system is certainly insufficient in municipal accounting. Any up-to-date system should show expense and revenue accounts and should at the same time furnish a basis for a profit and loss statement. The double-entry system not only allows this but at the same time it provides an internal check on clerical work. No decent commercial enterprise could afford to do business without a double-entry system of books. As a first suggestion, I may say that municipal accounting and reporting in

all cities of this size should be based on a double-entry system of book-keeping. The cities that reported a single-entry system were Roanoke-Rapids, Oxford, Rockingham, Weldon, Mount Airy, Southport, and Enfield.

2. A happier response was found to the second question which asked the municipalities if they periodically constructed and published a financial statement. Only two cities, Laurinburg and Statesville, fail to publish annual financial statements. It is very important for taxpayers to have a chance to know the condition of finances of the cities they support. Such statements serve as a guide in determining how much each department can afford to spend and how much it does spend. It is surprising that fourteen of the cities do not publish a profit and loss statement, and this list includes Greensboro, large as it is. The city of Morganton does not publish a profit and loss statement because as the treasurer writes, "there is no loss." I think we can safely recommend that it would be well to publish the profit if there is any.

3. More than twenty-five percent of these cities do not have their different departments in separate accounting units, without which it is of course impossible to report upon departmental budgets, except in ways of rough guessing year by year. One can readily see that under such a system one department may profit at the expense of another, or of all the rest. No department can plan an extensive program for the future if it does not know how its finances stand.

4. One of the worst features of the prevalent methods of municipal accounting in North Carolina is the failure to use the budget system. Practically fifty percent of the reporting cities fall down in this particular. If municipal accounting is to have teeth to prepare the food for the whole municipal body (if such a figure may be used), then a budget system is a vital essential. In the first place if the budget system is used then we are assured of a practically up-to-date accounting system because it is only on such a basis that a real budget can be prepared. If only a cash-received-cash-paid system of books is used then obviously it is foolish to attempt to prepare a budget. A budget cannot be established on such a basis. A budget, in simple language, is a financial program of the estimated operating expenses and revenues for the new year based on the experiences and records of the old year or for any given fiscal period. It is prudentially wise for every city to publish its budget in advance so that the taxpayers can have their say before its final adoption. It reflects credit on an administration if it can obtain the consent of a majority of the taxpayers to expend definite amounts of revenue upon the various stated purposes of a budget. If there is dissatisfaction then taxpayers have an opportunity to change the budget before it is finally adopted. In either event the results are favorable to the city administrators.

On the technical side of the question, the first essential is a budget

ledger where every account is credited with its allotment. At the end of each month each account will be debited with the amount expended, and so at the end of each month a statement can be drawn up showing the condition of each account. This monthly statement could be drawn up in three columns, the first column showing the annual appropriation, the second the amount of the allotment for a particular period, and the third giving the expenses of that period. An exhibit of this sort would enable the taxpayer to judge the efficiency of the administration as compared with past administrations, and at the same time it would serve as a guide in the administration of the affairs of the city. Every city that fails to use an adequate budget system deprives its citizens of a very fundamental right in government.

5. Nine cities in this group fail to separate income and costs by departments. Brevard separates incomes and costs for its water department alone. This list is identical with that of the cities which reported poor accounting systems. The deficiency will probably disappear when an entirely new system is inaugurated. Six cities in the group do not publish records and reports so that comparisons can be made with the operations of previous years, and with other cities maintaining similar departments.

Greensboro is included in a list of thirteen cities which make no statistical records of the cost of operations. For a large city like Greensboro it is hard to see why simple cost records are not made, but as in the case of the smaller cities it is not absolutely necessary. It is true that perfection in municipal accounting should be our aim and goal but we must not lose sight of the fact that a too detailed analysis may cost more than this finding is worth. Elaborate cost records require the work of expert accountants and many difficult processes are involved. It has been found that the Government Printing Office of the United States expended more in obtaining cost-account records for part of its business than the entire business was worth. We must not make the mistake of over-elaborate cost-accounting, in advocating a program for North Carolina cities.

6. Another element in municipal accounting, which involves much detail but which can not be ignored as can statistical cost records, is a system of control accounts and subsidiary ledgers. This is an important phase of city financing, but thirteen of our cities fail to use it. For this purpose a general ledger of the city is required together with a group of subsidiary ledgers. The system of controlling accounts is operated by taking the totals from the original documents and posting them in the general ledger. The accounts in detail which are taken from the original documents are posted directly to the subsidiary ledgers, so it can be seen that by such a system you have an internal check on departmental records. If the bookkeeping work is properly done then the

balance of the controlling account should correspond to the balance of the subsidiary ledgers.

7. More than half of the reporting cities fail to make any record of depreciation in computing costs. In this list are included such large cities as Tarboro, Durham, Greensboro, Henderson, Goldsboro, and Burlington. Eighteen of these cities create no reserves for depreciation and in this list, besides some of the others mentioned, Wilmington must be included. It is indeed strange that so few municipalities make a record of depreciation. Many large business enterprises have been brought to the wall because they failed to take this important factor into consideration. If no record of depreciation is made and no reserve created therefor, the assets of a city will gradually disappear and there will be nothing to supply their place.

I wish to propose three systems of measuring depreciation which every municipality can adopt for certain purposes. The most simple system of measuring depreciation is known to accountants as the straight-line method. Under this system the value of the product is taken into consideration in connection with probable durable life and a certain amount of the product is charged off to expense each year and a corresponding amount reserved to replace the asset at the end of its existence. For example, we will assume that a city has a fire truck which is worth \$1,000 and that the life of the fire truck is estimated at ten years. Under the straight-line method \$100 expense will be charged off each year and a corresponding reserve for depreciation made. At the end of the ten years, assuming that \$100 has been charged off each year, there will be a reserve of \$1,000 which will replace the truck now unfit for use. Under the straight-line method no calculation is made of the interest element and therefore some accountants urge the second method known as the compound interest method. If we reinvested the hundred-dollar annual depreciation charge which we have just spoken about, then it will be figured at the current rate of interest. This interest will be compounded every year together with the regular depreciation account and therefore it will take less time to accumulate the replacement fund. I would especially recommend this system where the funds are used for additions to the property. The third method may wisely be used when it is estimated that the property or piece of machinery will have some salvage value after it has ceased to be of use. The method for calculating depreciation in this case is generally known as the sinking fund method. Here you calculate the value as if it were an annuity, accumulating in ten years \$950 (using the same illustration and assuming that our property has a salvage value of \$50). In this case you will have one steady annuity payment to which can be added the interest which would be convertible annually. These three systems which we have described can apply to practically any depreciation problem that would confront a city. They are simple and

practicable. The cities of North Carolina can save thousands of dollars simply by adopting adequate systems for measuring depreciation. Many municipalities own and operate certain public utilities, say water works, claiming that they can supply the service more cheaply than private concerns can do. Such claims should be investigated and it will frequently be found that a city can gain by the services and efficiency of up-to-date private corporations. Public utilities conducted by a municipality usually supply a cheap immediate service because no recognition is made of depreciation, but after a certain time the property is useless and there is no fund to replace it. Then the taxpayers must be taxed to replace the whole system suddenly much to their disgust. Such a state of affairs would never occur with a private corporation because the depreciation fund would be sufficient to replace the property.

8. Practically seventy-five percent of the cities investigated do not distribute maintenance charges on a time basis. In this detail of municipal finance most of the cities fell down. One is surprised to find that such small cities as Reidsville, Monroe, and Louisburg do distribute their charges on such a basis, and there is no reason why this system should not be more widespread. The taxpayers are best represented under such a system and the administrators can best show how efficiently they have conducted the affairs of the city. When the time basis is used there is also a barometer for comparing one administration with another. If it is found that there is a great difference between the cost of maintenance in different periods, the fault may be traced to the inadequate functioning of material assets because of long service. Another advantage in using a time basis lies in the ease with which comparisons can be made with other cities.

9. Only seven of the cities do not create sinking fund reserves. Practically all corporations protect the interests of their bondholders by setting aside annual sums that will meet the payment of bonds at maturity. The amount set aside is figured at the rate of the interest it will bring. I think the case between a corporation and its bondholders is analogous to that existing between a municipality and the taxpayers. Taxpayers have a right to the same protection that bondholders in private corporations have. These sinking reserve funds can be put into the hands of a trustee at a stipulated rate of interest, or can be used as a separate fund by the municipality, but in no event must they be applied to current operations.

10. Seven cities do not make schedules of revenues and expenses. These cities are Laurinburg, Enfield, Morehead City, Statesville, Edenton, Elizabeth City, and Roanoke Rapids. With just two exceptions these are the cities that create no sinking fund reserves. It is impossible to arrive at any figures that will give a schedule for revenue and expense unless the double-entry system of bookkeeping is used. Therefore it is only

natural that Enfield, Statesville, Edenton, and Roanoke Rapids furnish no such schedules. But in the case of Laurinburg, Morehead City, and Elizabeth City there is nothing in the way of issuing needed statements of this sort, if the books are kept correctly. It is only by publishing such statements that a view of the financial situation of the municipality can be given. Many a municipality thinks it has a surplus fund just because there is a large amount of cash on hand, when in reality an expense and revenue schedule might show that there is a deficit, large or small. Such instances are too numerous to mention.

11. A better showing was made in answer to the question, are any analyses made of expenditures? Only three cities, Roanoke Rapids, Edenton, and Laurinburg report in the negative. Of course, it is impossible for me to say how complete these analyses are, but the fact that so many cities made some form of financial analysis is worthy of mention.

12. Only two cities, Laurinburg and Roxboro, reported a negative answer to the question: are your accounts audited? Here we ran into a surprise because it has been generally assumed that very few of the smaller cities of the state have their books audited. However, the system of auditing can come in for criticism because many of the books are audited in the poorest kind of fashion. In many of the smaller cities an alderman or a committee of aldermen is appointed to audit the books, and one can readily realize how utterly inefficient is such a system of auditing. It is worth noting that four North Carolina cities, Charlotte, Raleigh, Greensboro, and Durham have their books audited by certified accountants quarterly. Certainly every taxpayer should have this protection, and I think that auditing by certified public accountants is feasible for every town of 1,500 or more inhabitants. Only last Wednesday Mr. Willis, vice-president of the Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, writing in the Greensboro Daily News, shows the disadvantage of North Carolina cities in the bond markets of the United States. He states that the main cause of this disadvantage is the delay or default in paying interest on securities at maturity dates, and that this frequent failure in North Carolina is due to the inefficiency of our municipal finances. There is often, he states, no record of the dates when these securities mature or of the amounts of interest due or when or where they are due. In this one matter alone certified public accountants can do much to establish the financial reputation of North Carolina cities in the bond markets of the country and to facilitate the advantageous sale of our municipal securities.

13. There are many other reforms that might with impunity be advocated, but I think we often obscure our main purposes, by advocating countless reforms that tend to becloud rather than clear the main issue. There is one matter, however, which I think North Carolina municipalities cannot afford to disregard, and that is uniform systems of city accounting and reporting. I think I can see in the future the development of a

community of interests among North Carolina cities, due to the improvement of transportation and communication facilities, to business ability in municipal heads, and to the increasing intelligence and persistent demands of democratic constituencies. A healthy rivalry will arise among these cities, and uniform accounting offers a way of establishing clear leadership. It will aid primarily in showing whether the administration of one city government has been as efficient as that of another. It will at the same time furnish a basis for comparing city costs in the various departments, and this basis will be fair because it will be based on identical systems of financial method. For such a purpose, a pamphlet could be made for each city containing a financial statement of the municipality for each year, and this statement could be distributed among the different cities of the state. A uniform system of accounting and reporting will not only redound to the efficiency and merit of the municipal finances of our state, but also will be a mighty factor in the economic and social endeavors of our people.

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Questionnaire Schedule

The following inquiry on Municipal Finances and Methods in North Carolina was sent to 83 cities of 1,500 or more population:

1. Do you keep a cash-received-cash-paid system of books?.....
Single-entry system?.....Double-entry system?.....
2. Do you periodically construct and publish a financial statement of the municipality?.....Also profit and loss statement?.....
3. Do you departmentalize your city, making up budgets for each department?.....And do you use the budget system of accounting?.....
4. Is any effort made to separate income and costs by departments?.....and are records and reports made so that comparisons can be made with previous year's operations and with other cities maintaining similar departments?.....
5. Are any statistical records made of cost of operations?.....
6. Have you a system of controlling accounts and subsidiary ledgers?.....
7. In computing costs, is any record made of depreciation?.....And are reserves created therefor?.....
8. Are maintenance charges distributed on a time basis?.....
9. Are sinking fund reserves created?.....
10. Are schedules of revenues and expenses made?.....
11. Are any analyses made of expenditures?.....
12. Are your accounts audited?.....How often?.....

By whom?.....

Signed.....

Office held.....

City.....N. C.

Sources of Information

Questionnaire Schedule of Municipal Finances.

North Carolina Club Year-Book 1917-18, pp. 92-103.

Municipal Accounting, by Eggleston, pp. 23-58.

Principles of Accounting, by Paton & Stevenson, pp. 327, 391-395, 626-628, 106, 238, 491-496, 482-505, 48, 107, 495, 517-526, 511-515, 193-197.

Greensboro Daily News, May 25, 1921, article by M. H. Willis on County and Municipal Finances.

March 21, 1921.

CHAPTER XVII

MUNICIPAL UTILITIES AND FRANCHISE POLICIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

W. E. WOLF, INDIANA

This report deals with the results of an inquiry into the Status and Policies of North Carolina Towns and Cities of one thousand or more population, with reference to Public Services and Franchises. The report is incomplete because (1) only fifty-nine of the one hundred and thirty-three public officials answered the questionnaires sent them; (2) the questionnaire was not as clear as it might have been; and (3) I was unable to see the officials in person and to inspect the different utilities of the various towns and cities.

The success of cities varies according to the variety, the quality, and the economy of the public services rendered. We have been shown by Mr. Hayes that a city must be carefully planned or its progress and prosperity will be affected. Mr. Reavis has shown us the necessity of good government. With these things in mind, I want to ask: What advantage would it be to a well-planned city with an ideal type of government if it lacked utilities, or had the kind of utilities that are beyond the reach of a majority of the citizens, or that retard manufacturing, trade, or credit institutions?

The two types of city utilities that will be discussed in this paper, because they are the types which are found in this state in the greatest numbers, are (1) those that are privately owned and operated, and (2) those that are publicly owned and operated.

Private Ownership and Operation

The arguments may be summarized as follows: Advantages: (1) More efficiently managed; the people will get the best service. (2) Cheaper service. This may be true where the company serves several towns with the same equipment. Disadvantages: (1) The utility is a monopoly and the company often takes advantage of the fact by giving poor service. (2) The rates may be high because the company is in business for profit and not as a service to the citizens.

Public Ownership and Operation

The arguments may be summarized as follows: Advantages: (1) The citizens get the kind of service that they desire because they have the last word in the management of the utility. (2) The rates will be cheaper,

if operated with the same degree of efficiency, because the city is not in the business for profit, but for service. There will be no profits to be distributed to the owners; so this amount can be saved in cheaper rates. (3) There will be less labor trouble because civic enterprises can have better hours and wage schedules. The employees will also do more for the city than they would for the corporation because of civic pride and the will to serve. (4) The municipal plants are a city asset and a source of civic pride. Disadvantages: (1) Politics will be centered in them and will result in poor service and high rates. This can be overcome by putting the employees on the basis of Federal government employees. That is, have all of them take civil service examinations, and in this way the city would get only the most efficient. (2) Financially unsound. This disadvantage can be overcome by wise management. A careful survey should be made before the city builds or takes over a plant and determines upon rates. The best site can be selected, and a fully outlined plan concerning all necessary expenditures can be made in advance with very little inaccuracy. In this way the citizens can have a check on the plant, its operation and results.

Before a city determines whether or not it will operate a utility, or will grant a franchise for the operation of one, it should have an expert on the subject study the situation fully and give a report to the citizens through the city council or commission. If this preliminary report shows that it will be an economic advantage to the citizens as a whole, the city should either own and operate the public utility, or grant a franchise for one to be operated by a private corporation.

The Law in North Carolina

In the North Carolina Consolidated Statutes, p. 2831, Part 5, Sec. 2832, under the title "Power to Control and to Establish Public Utilities," we find the following law:

"Any city shall have the right to acquire, establish, and operate water-works, electric lighting systems, gas systems, schools, libraries, cemeteries, market houses, wharves, play or recreation grounds, athletic grounds, parks, abattoirs, slaughter-houses, sewer systems, garbage and sewage disposal plants, auditoriums, or places of amusement and entertainment, and armories. The city shall have the further right to make a civic survey of the city, establish hospitals, clinics, or dispensaries for the poor, and to dispense milk to the babies; shall have the power to establish a system of public charities and benevolence for the aid of the poor and destitute of the city; for the welfare of the visitors from the country and elsewhere, to establish rest-rooms, public water-closets, and urinals, open sales places for the sale of produce, places for hitching and caring for animals, and for the parking of automobiles; and all reasonable ap-

propriations made for such purposes will be binding on the city, subject to the state constitution.

Franchise Policies

It is further found in Pell Revisal, Section 2915, that a city can contract for a service for thirty years.

Since the author has been able to consult with only the authorities in Raleigh and Chapel Hill concerning the method of granting franchises, and since no city or town answered this part of the questionnaire sent it, full details concerning the methods of granting of franchises by North Carolina cities cannot be given.

Raleigh has the following section in its charter under the title of Granting of Franchises: "No franchise shall be granted by the city of Raleigh until the question shall be submitted, at a special or general election, to the qualified voters of the city, and until a majority of those voting upon the proposition have voted in favor of granting such franchise: Provided, that in all elections upon the granting of franchises, the person, persons, or corporation applying for same shall deposit with the city treasurer a sum which, in the opinion of the board of commissioners, will be sufficient to defray the expenses of such election."

It can be seen that the people have a voice in the matter. Before the question is put before the people of Raleigh, there is an investigation made and the finding of such investigation is made public at the same time that the notice of the election is made. The people generally vote according to the recommendation of the commission. In case the report is unfavorable to the corporation that is appealing for a franchise, the corporation can publish its side in the papers and the public can use its discretion in the matter of voting.

Another part of the same section of the Raleigh charter states: "Provided further, that any and all rights, privileges, and franchises that have been heretofore, or that may be hereafter, granted to or held by any person, firm, or corporation, in the streets, alleys, sidewalks, public grounds or places in the said city, shall be subject to a tax by said city in such amounts as the board of commissioners may think just, separate from and in addition to the other assets of such person, firm, or corporation, and in addition to a license tax; and the board of commissioners may require the rendition and assessment thereof accordingly."

It can be seen from the above, that the city of Raleigh can tax the property of any business that operates in that city under a franchise. It can also charge them a license tax. A public service corporation in Raleigh in other words is liable to (1) a property tax, (2) a franchise tax, and (3) a license or privilege tax.

In Chapel Hill, a corporation gets its franchise from the city council. This body does not refer the matter to the people. In existing franchises,

the town has protected itself against any damages that may be done by any corporation that operates under a franchise that the town has granted; it has kept the power to tax such corporations, and it has limited the duration of the University lighting franchise.

The Questionnaire Used

The questionnaire that was sent out reads as follows:

University of N. C., Jan. 10, 1921.

My dear Sir:

Mr. W. E. Wolf, one of our students, is making a study of City Utilities, Municipal Ownership, and Franchise Policies in North Carolina cities. Please hurry back to us on the attached card the information he calls for.

Also, please write us a letter detailing at length the franchise policies of your city, as for instance (1) method of granting, (2) length, (3) compensation to city—money or special service, (4) provision for forfeiture, (5) policy of terminating franchise, (6) method of taxation.

Yours truly,

HOWARD W. ODUM,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

City Services of.....Population.....

Please check those you have. Underscore those that are owned by the city.

Electric light plant—Sewage system—Public swimming pool or baths—Garbage disposal plant—Abattoir—Public market—Community house or recreation center—Public rest room—Library—Hospital—Cemeteries—Public health officer—Public health nurse—City park—Park around station—Y. M. C. A. building—Y. W. C. A. building—Number of railroads entering city—Miles of paved streets—Miles of paved sidewalks—Paid fire department—Number of public school buildings—Total replacement value \$.....

Form of Government: Aldermanic—Commission—City Manager.

Signed.....Office held.....

This questionnaire was sent to all the towns and cities of North Carolina which had a population of one thousand or over. The 1920 Census was used in finding the population of these towns and cities. These places were grouped into four classes according to size, as follows: Class I, places having 1,000 to 2,500 population; Class II, places having 2,500 to 5,000 population; Class III, places having 5,000 to 10,000 population; Class IV, places having 10,000 or more population.

It was found that there were one hundred and thirty-six towns and cities in North Carolina with 1,000 or more inhabitants; 79 in the first class, 30 in the second class, 13 in the third class, and 14 in the fourth class.

In answer to the 136 questionnaires that were sent out the first time and the 86 that were sent the second time, we had 59 returns. Partial information from 18 additional cities and towns was obtained from Mr. Hayes's questionnaire. The towns covered by the questionnaires were as follows:*

Class I, Towns of 1,000 to 2,500 Population

*Ahoskie, Andrews, Ayden, *Belhaven, Benson, Bessemer City, Brevard, Burgaw, *Carrboro, Chapel Hill, *China Grove, Cherryville, *Clinton, Cornelius, *Dallas, Davidson, *East Lumberton, *East Spencer, *Roxobel, Elkin, Enfield, *Fairmont, *Farmville †Forest City, *Franklinton, *Fremont, *Gibsonville, Graham, *Granite Falls, *Hertford, Hillsboro, Kernersville, *La Grange, Leaksville, Louisburg, *Lowell, *Madison, Maiden, Marion, *Maxton, Mayodan, *McAdenville, *Mebane, *Mocksville, Mount Holly, †Mount Olive, Murphy, *North Wilkesboro, *Norwood, Plymouth, *Raeford, *Ramsenr, *Randleman, *Red Springs, *Robersonville, *Roper, *Scotland Neck, *Selma, *Siler City, *Smithfield, †Sonthport, *Spring Hope, St. Pauls, Taylorsville, *Troy, Tryon, *Wake Forest, Warsaw, *Waynesville, *Weldon, Wendell, West Hickory, Whiteville, *Williamston, Windsor, Rutherfordton, Chadbourne, Highland, Littleton.

Class II, Towns of 2,500 to 5,000 Population

Albemarle, *Ashboro, †Beaufort, Belmont, *Canton, *Clayton, Dunn, *Edenton, *Hamlet, *Kings Mountain, †Lanrinburg, Lenoir, Lincolnton, Lumberton, †Mount Airy, Mooresville, Morganton, *Newton, Oxford, *Roanoke Rapids, Rockingham, †Roxboro, *Sanford, †Shelby, *Spencer, *Tarboro, Wadesboro, †Hendersonville, Monroe, Morehead City.

Class III, Towns of 5,000 to 10,000 Population

Concord, †Elizabeth City, *Fayetteville, Greenville, Henderson, Hickory, Burlington, †Kinston, *Lexington, Reidsville, †Statesville, *Thomasville, Washington.

Class IV, Towns of 10,000 or more Population

†Asheville, †Charlotte, Durham, Gastonia, †Goldsboro, Greensboro, High Point, *New Bern, Raleigh, *Rocky Mount, *Salisbury, †Wilmington, *Wilson, Winston-Salem.

Electric Light Plants

Sixty-nine towns reported that they had electric light plants. Eight more of the towns that answered stated that they did not own an electric

* No mark before the name of the town means that it returned a questionnaire. The towns marked † did not answer my questionnaire but partial information was gotten about them from Mr. Hayes's questionnaire. The towns marked * are those about which information was obtained outside the questionnaire.

light plant. Among the latter was Greensboro. Some of these towns have electricity carried to them from plants outside the city, as is the case of Greensboro.

The towns that reported municipal plants are: Andrews, Ayden, Benson, Burgaw, Cherryville, Enfield, Forest City, Kernersville, Mount Olive, Murphy, Rutherfordton, Southport, Albemarle, Dunn, Laurinburg, Lincolnton, Lumberton, Mount Airy, Mooresville, Morehead City, Morganton, Concord, Greenville, Kinston, Statesville, Washington, and Gastonia. Mayodan is building one.

The 1916 McGraw Electrical Directory reports the following towns with municipal plants: Albemarle, Andrews, Ashboro, Beaufort, Concord, Dunn, Edenton, Elm City, Enfield, Farmville, Fremont, Gastonia, Greenville, Hertford, High Point, Kings Mountain, Kinston, Laurinburg, Lexington, Lincolnton, Littleton, Louisburg, Lumberton, Monroe, Mooresville, Morehead City, Morganton, Mount Airy, Mount Olive, New Bern, Newton, North Wilkesboro, Reidsville, Rocky Mount, Rowland, Rutherfordton, Scotland Neck, Selma, Statesville, Tarboro, Wake Forest, Washington, Waynesville, Whitakers, and Wilson.

Within the list given above, Elm City, Rowland, and Whitakers are under the size of the towns investigated in this paper. High Point, Beaufort, Monroe, and Reidsville reported that they did not own their electric light plants, although the McGraw Directory of 1916 reported them as owning their own electric light plants.

If the twenty-one towns of Ashboro, Edenton, Farmville, Fremont, Hertford, Kings Mountain, Kinston, Laurinburg, Lexington, Littleton, New Bern, Newton, North Wilkesboro, Rocky Mount, Scotland Neck, Selma, Statesville, Tarboro, Wake Forest, Waynesville, and Wilson still own the municipal plant which they were reported as owning in 1916 the total of the municipal plants in the state is forty-nine.

Ten of the forty-nine plants are newly acquired by the towns. These plants are in Ayden, Benson, Burgaw, Cherryville, Maiden, Murphy, Southport, Warsaw, Forest City, and Kernersville. The town of Mayodan stated that it was building an electric light plant.

It can be seen, if my assumptions are correct about the towns which did not respond to the inquiry sent them, that there has been a net gain of six new electric light plants which are municipally owned.

With the great amount of water power in North Carolina, there is no reason that the cities of the state should not take advantage of it. They can furnish light to their citizens at a small cost and can sell the surplus power to manufacturers whom they can thus attract to the town. In this way, the city will be doubly benefited.

Gas Plants

There are eighteen gas plants in the state. Of this number, there are only two that are municipally owned and they are in Rocky Mount and Wilson, according to the Municipal Ownership League.

The sixteen privately owned plants are in the following towns: Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Wilmington, New Bern, Elizabeth City, Henderson, Oxford, High Point, Salisbury, Spencer, East Spencer, Greensboro, Goldsboro, and Washington.

It seems that the larger the town, the more it realizes the advantage of this type of utility. Of the eighteen towns with gas plants twelve are in towns of the fourth class, including the two municipally owned plants. Three of them are in the third class, two in the second, and one in the first class.

The reason for gas plants in the larger cities is due to the common use of gas in manufacturing establishments. The fuel problem in homes may also be a factor, because cooking with gas saves time, energy and trouble for the housewives.

Water Works

Water works are the type of utility that is most generally found to be municipally owned. North Carolina is no exception to this rule.

There are sixty-four municipally owned water works in North Carolina. They are found in towns of every size, some in places of less than a thousand inhabitants, as the following list shows.

The towns with municipal water works are: Albemarle, Asheville, Bessemer City, Burlington, Canton, Carthage, Charlotte, Concord, Dunn, Edenton, Farmville, Fayetteville, Forest City, Gastonia, High Point, Hot Springs, Kings Mountain, Kinston, Lenoir, Lexington, Lincolnton, Louisville, Lumberton, Marion, Monroe, Mooresville, Morehead City, Morganton, Murphy, New Bern, Newton, North Wilkesboro, Raleigh, Red Springs, Reidsville, Rockingham, Rocky Mount, Roxboro, Rutherfordton, Salisbury, Sanford, Selma, Shelby, Smithfield, Southern Pines, Spencer, Statesville, Thomasville, Wadesboro, Washington, Waynesville, Weldon, Wilmington, Wilson, and Winston-Salem. The following towns have also reported municipally owned water works: Belmont, Hickory, Durham, Beaufort, Laurinburg, Mount Airy, Mount Olive, Plymouth and Southport. Maiden and St. Pauls are installing plants.

Greenville was reported by the Public Ownership League as owning its plant, but the city officials did not return an answer to that effect.

Hendersonville, Graham, Hamlet, and Oxford have privately-owned water works.

Every town ought to own its water works. In this way, it will be able to see that all its citizens get an adequate supply of pure water

at reasonable rates. The plant ought to be built so that it can be enlarged whenever necessary to take care of increasing population.

Street Railways

There are street railway systems in the following towns according to the answers that they returned: Asheville, Raleigh, Charlotte, Wilmington, Durham, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and Burlington.

Upon further inquiry, it was found that the following cities, New Bern, Graham, Goldsboro, Salisbury, and Spencer, have either a system or are part of an interurban system.

Sewerage Systems

This is a type of utility that every city in the state ought to have, and it ought of course to be municipally owned. If sewerage disposal is not properly provided for the health of the whole community is constantly threatened. Notwithstanding the commonly recognized dangers that result from no sewerage systems or poor or inadequate systems, we find that the following places have no sewerage systems, at least they do not report any: Hillsboro, Mount Airy, Mayodan, Taylorsville, Roxboro, Mount Holly, Whiteville, Burgaw, Rutherfordton, and Tryon, which has a partial system. Elizabeth City has a sewerage system, but strange to say it is owned and operated by a private corporation on a rental basis.

The following places reported that they are installing sewerage systems: Enfield, St. Pauls, Graham, Beaufort (which has a partial system), and Maiden.

The following places reported sewerage systems but did not state that they were municipally owned: Wilmington, Elkin, West Hickory, Rockingham, Louisburg, Davidson, Plymouth, and Windsor. Doubtless they are so owned. It is hardly likely that such systems are anywhere privately owned.

All the towns answering the questionnaire, fifty-nine in number, stated that they had municipal sewerage systems. Which goes to prove that this is a type of utility that every town ought to own and operate municipally.

Garbage Disposal Plant

There are only twelve of these plants in the state. Of this number, two are privately owned—in Davidson and in Rockingham. The ten municipally owned plants in the state are in the following cities: Benson, Charlotte, Greensboro, Belmont, Durham, Raleigh, Asheville, Goldsboro, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem.

The larger towns of the state realize the necessity for this type of utility. It is doubtless true that many of the other places have some sort of plan, more or less inadequate, whereby they get rid of the garbage

of their town. Many of them sell it to the farmers who feed it to their hogs. Instead of dumping garbage, waste, and trash in vacant lots, or on the town edges, they should make some proper provision for the disposal of it, in order to avoid the menace to health and to escape creating and tolerating a nuisance to eye and nose.

Public Swimming Pools

Here is a public utility that greatly adds to the comfort of the citizens of a town, and it is commonly neglected. Only six towns reported that they had a swimming pool or public shower baths. They are Asheville, Charlotte, Wilmington, Marion, West Hickory, and Raleigh. Raleigh, however, was the only town in the state that reported a city-owned pool, or public baths. Perhaps the plentiful supply of "swimming holes" in the neighboring streams and ponds explain the scarcity of municipal swimming pools or showers. Or perhaps the pools in the Y. M. C. A. buildings supply the needs of the larger towns.

Abattoirs

There are only seven abattoirs in the state. Those in Enfield, Henderson, and Charlotte are privately owned. The other four, in High Point, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem, are publicly owned. Or so the questionnaire answers report. It can be seen that five of the seven are in the larger towns. If four of these find it worth-while to operate a city-owned abattoir, other towns might follow their example. It is a municipal utility greatly needed, but at the same time it is one that a municipality finds it difficult to operate. It can be done—Paris, Texas, has done it; but it is a public service that usually fails. If the towns of the state had abattoirs and packing facilities, the farmers would raise more meat animals and live-stock production would be greatly encouraged. As it now is, the state lacks local stock yards, abattoirs, and packing plants, and this lack is a decided check upon commercial production of pork, mutton, and beef in North Carolina. Meantime we import many million pounds of meat from distant markets, and pay sky-high prices for it, while the production of meat, poultry, and dairy commodities in the state languishes for lack of local market facilities—stock yards, abattoirs, refrigerating plants, public markets, and the like.

Public Markets

There are only fourteen public markets in the towns and cities of North Carolina, and only two in towns of fewer than 5,000 inhabitants. Four are privately owned, or else the mayors of the towns did not think it necessary to state that the markets in Andrews, Mount Olive, Elizabeth City, and Greensboro were municipally owned. Ayden, West Hickory, Burlington, Greenville, Washington, Asheville, Durham, Raleigh, Wilming-

ton, and Winston-Salem reported publicly-owned markets. Goldsboro reported a municipal fish market. This is a utility that every town ought to own and operate. If the country people could sell their products directly to their city customers, the producers might get more dollars for their products and at the same time the consumers might get more products for their dollars. Fourteen cities of the state are awake to this fact. But it cannot be said that any public market in North Carolina is efficiently operated as a municipal enterprise.

There are many country people who sell their produce from door to door, but comparatively very few townspeople derive any advantage from their offerings. And the reward that country people derive from such peddling is so small that all in all it amounts to little or nothing. It may also be true that in the smaller places many people raise their own vegetables but this cannot be true of the great majority. The thing to do is first of all to establish an open-air market, and if the benefits are manifest the towns can then build and operate a public market. But it is worse than useless—it is a waste of public money—to erect an expensive market building, if the housewives cannot or will not develop the marketing habit.

Community Houses or Recreation Centers

There are ten community houses or recreation centers in North Carolina. Five of these were reported as privately owned—in Enfield, Leaksville, Monroe, Goldsboro, and Wilmington; five municipally owned—in St. Pauls, Hickory, Salisbury, Kinston, and Raleigh. Many textile mills in North Carolina provide such buildings for their employees. The mayors of many towns did not report these. The total is therefore larger than appears in the questionnaire summary.

The community center is a type of utility that should become general. It provides a place where the people of a town can get together for social events and clean amusements. It serves to bring all of the citizens closer together; it promotes civic pride that can be made to mean great things for the city as a whole.

Public Rest Rooms

Twenty rest-rooms have been reported in North Carolina cities. Eleven of these are privately owned—in Benson, Louisburg, Dunn, Plymouth, Lenoir, Lumberton, Rockingham, Monroe, Statesville, Washington, and Wilmington. Nine towns reported that they have municipally-owned public rest-rooms as follows: Brevard, Maiden, Murphy, Albemarle, Mooresville, Greenville, Hickory, Asheville, and High Point.

Every city needs an attractive rest-room for its country constituencies. Too commonly the only rest-rooms are found in either the lobby of a hotel, or in the railroad station, or in the court-house, or in the rear

end of stores. The lack of such facilities is most embarrassing to the country women, and no thoughtful town can afford to neglect its country customers.

Towns have everywhere found that public rest-rooms are an asset of great value.

Public Libraries

Twenty-two towns in North Carolina reported that they had public libraries. Twelve of these indicated that the library was not municipally owned, as follows: Brevard, Rutherfordton, Tryon, West Hickory, Oxford, Roanoke Rapids, Rockingham, Monroe, Washington, Charlotte, Gastonia, and Greensboro. It may be possible that some of these places have Carnegie Libraries and did not count them as publicly owned. As a matter of fact there are public libraries in 56 North Carolina towns of 2,000 or more inhabitants, or 34 libraries more than the mayors were interested enough to report.

Ten towns reported that they had a municipal library, as follows: Andrews, Murphy, Mooresville, Concord, Greenville, Hickory, Reidsville, Durham, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem.

Here is another utility that is vital to the well-being of a town. The children of a town ought to have easy access to the best literature of the whole earth. And the same thing ought to be true of the eager young men and young women, and of the alert, thoughtful men and women of the community. It cannot yet be said that North Carolina is richly equipped with books and libraries and public-library facilities. A recent survey reported in a bulletin of the Federal Bureau of Education puts North Carolina next to the last state in the Union in library volumes, with only 56 books per 1,000 inhabitants. Only Arkansas made a poorer showing.

Public Hospitals

Twenty-eight of the towns reported that they had hospitals. Elizabeth City, Mount Olive, Murphy, Rutherfordton, West Hickory, Lumberton, Mount Airy, Morehead City, Oxford, Hendersonville, Concord, Burlington, Kinston, Asheville, Gastonia, Wilson, and Goldsboro were the towns that reported that they had privately-owned hospitals.

Monroe, Henderson, Statesville, Washington, Charlotte, High Point, Durham, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem reported that they had municipally owned hospitals. Wadesboro reported that it had a hospital that belonged to the town and the county jointly.

Every town that is able to support a public hospital ought to do so. The smaller towns in a county might combine and own one jointly. In this way, they could bear the expense jointly and their citizens could enjoy hospital care near to their own homes. County or county-group hospitals

are now being established in North Carolina—in Forsyth and Guilford, for instance. Other counties are agitating their establishment, Mecklenburg, Gaston, and Stanly for instance.

Cemeteries

Fifty-three towns reported that they had cemeteries. Dunn and Lumberton appear to be the only two towns in the state without city cemeteries. It may be that this lack is due to oversight on part of the officers who filled out the questionnaire cards.

The number of private-cemetery companies, thirteen in all, may be an outgrowth of the ancient church burial grounds.

The private-cemetery companies reported are in Greensboro, Mt. Airy, Statesville, Rockingham, Bessemer City, Brevard, Cornelius, Elkin, Louisburg, Mount Holly, Plymouth, Taylorsville, and West Hickory.

City Parks

Ten places in North Carolina reported privately-owned parks, as follows: Davidson, Marion, Southport, Tryon, Rockingham, Hickory, Statesville, Asheville, Goldsboro, and Greensboro.

Bessemer City, Lincolnton, Mooresville, Reidsville, Charlotte, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem are the towns reporting city-owned parks.

Parks are another utility that repays a city many times over for their cost. They are beauty spots, breathing spaces, recreation areas, and civic centers, and if well kept they promote community pride. The time to acquire park properties is in the early life of a city, when land is abundant and cheap. The absence of parks in growing cities argues lack of civic vision by purblind early settlers. This matter of parks needs attention in almost every city in North Carolina.

Public Health Officers

The survey results show that there are 27 towns with public health officers, as follows: Andrews, Ayden, Benson, Mayodan, Mooresville, Morganton, Concord, Greenville, Henderson, Reidsville, Charlotte, Durham, Gastonia, High Point, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Davidson, Louisburg, Marion, Murphy, Dunn, Mt. Airy, Oxford, Rockingham, Washington, Greensboro and Wadesboro.

It is possible that many of the small towns enjoy the services of a county health officer and thus do not feel the need of an officer of their own. Many of the mills have doctors or health officers and nurses to look after the workers in their mills.

Public Health Nurses

Only sixteen public health nurses were reported by the towns that answered the questionnaire. Mt. Airy, Washington, Gastonia, and Greens-

boro were the towns that did not state that the nurses were paid by the city. Andrews, Mayodan, Murphy, Morganton, Greenville, Henderson, Burlington, Charlotte, Durham, High Point, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem reported that they had nurses paid by the city. Chapel Hill has recently been added to this list.

Many of the mills and some of the counties have public health nurses. The American Red Cross also has 24 visiting nurses busy in North Carolina, or more than any other Southern State; also the mills, the school systems, and the colleges of the state.

Railway Station Parks

There are only six of such parks in North Carolina cities, namely Davidson, Tryon, Greensboro, Raleigh, Andrews, and High Point. The last three cities named have municipally owned parks around their stations.

More towns ought to have these beauty spots at their railroad gateways. Nothing impresses visitors more promptly or more lastingly. Station parks are town boosters of the very best sort.

Y. M. C. A. Buildings

The State Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association reports that there are 21 Y. M. C. A. buildings in North Carolina, as follows: Asheville, Charlotte, Concord, Greensboro, Durham, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Elizabeth City.

Industrial plants have built Y's in Canton, Kannapolis, Draper, Spray, North Spray, Leaksville, and Erlanger. Besides these built by different mills, the railroads have built Y's for their men at Spencer, Hamlet, and Rocky Mount.

Fayetteville has raised \$65,000 for a Y building. Greensboro has laid the foundation for a new \$90,000 building. There are also Y buildings at most of the colleges of the state. A city without an adequate Y building impresses strangers as a drowsy, unprogressive place.

Y. W. C. A. Buildings

There are six city Associations in North Carolina, in Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, Wilmington, Winston-Salem, and Asheville. Winston-Salem, Greensboro and Charlotte have erected buildings to house their activities. Asheville has purchased for this purpose an old residence near the center of the town.

Wilmington has a movement on foot to erect a Y. W. C. A. building when financial conditions become more settled. Durham has a Y. W. C. A. in a rented building.

The Y. M. C. A. in North Carolina has so far done more for the young men than the Y. W. C. A. has done for the young women. But in

commercial and industrial centers the needs of the young women are far greater than those of the young men, especially for boarding arrangements, and cafeteria facilities.

Miscellaneous Utilities

1. Docks. Six towns reported docks, and Plymouth, Washington, and Wilmington reported docks that were municipally owned. The other towns reporting docks were Southport, Morehead City, and Elizabeth City.

2. Railroads. From the reports that were returned, it appears that the towns of the state with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants are served by only one railroad, a few of them by two; more of the towns of the 2,500-5,000 class are served by two railroads, and a few of them by three; more of the towns of the state in the 5,000 to 10,000 class are served by three railroads. The fourteen cities of the first class, with more than 10,000 inhabitants have the best railroad facilities. A town without adequate railroad facilities must be content to be forever a small-town—a thing for Mt. Airy, for instance, to consider.

Greensboro and Durham are the two towns that reported the largest number of railroads entering their borders. Each of these two cities is served by five railroad lines. Charlotte is served by railroads and electric lines entering from six directions.

3. Paved streets. The cities that answered this question reported 269.6 miles of paved streets. The larger the cities, the more miles of paved streets, or so as a rule.

Charlotte reported 72 miles of paved streets or 22.4 miles more than Asheville, which is second in the extent of paved streets reported.

4. Paved sidewalks. There were 651.7 miles of paved sidewalks reported by the towns of North Carolina. The paved sidewalks of the state, placed end to end, would extend from Richmond to Jacksonville and beyond.

Charlotte reported more than a hundred miles of paved sidewalks. Which is ten miles more than Winston-Salem, its nearest competitor, can boast. Charlotte has almost as many miles of paved sidewalks as all the towns in the first and second classes.

5. Paid fire departments. Sixteen cities reported paid fire departments. Ten other towns reported partially paid fire fighters. The towns with paid fire departments are Ayden, Benson, Brevard, Greenville, Henderson, Reidsville, Washington, Charlotte, Durham, Gastonia, Greensboro, High Point, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Lumberton, and Rockingham. The places with the partially paid departments are Concord, Hickory, Kinston, Morganton, Washington, Asheville, Goldsboro, Lenoir, Oxford, and Morehead City.

Volunteer fire fighters in the smaller towns are rewarded in part by certain tax reductions.

Remarks

Such are the data obtained from the answers sent by officials of the different cities in North Carolina. In case you find an error in this chapter about your home town or find it omitted altogether, you can be sure that the questionnaire was not filled out as requested, or was entirely ignored by your chosen city officials.

If you do not see the name of your town at all, ask the mayor why he did not return an answer. He received two complete questionnaires; so you may be sure that he had a chance to render a report.

The purpose of these investigations is to inform the city populations of the state, and to stimulate civic pride and activity in making the home town the loveliest place on earth to look at and to live in.

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CHAPTER XVIII

COMMUNITY LIFE AND ORGANIZATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

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North Carolina is fundamentally deficient in community life and organization. We have settlements and neighborhoods, small towns and cities, but we have a minimum of community life. We have communities here and there, but they are relatively few. And when I say community life I mean the realization of common needs and the organization of territorial groups of people in behalf of common advantages, economic, social, and civic; such a realization and organization as results in coöperative farm enterprises, consolidated schools in county-wide systems, community health centers, county public health departments, regional clinics and dispensaries, and so on. The liveliest realized common interest in North Carolina concerns taxation as a burden, not as an investment, and improved public highways. The legislature that voted fifty millions of money for public roads came within an ace of scrapping the public welfare machinery of the state.

Instead of community life and organization based on a robust sense of social and civic responsibility, we have and have always had in North Carolina the individual life of independent persons, family groups, and occupational groups. The private-local-mindedness of North Carolina has retarded community life and organization in this state. How could it be otherwise when eighteen hundred thousand of our people dwell in solitary farmsteads, a few to the square mile, in the open country spaces of the state? Our 413 small towns are aggregations not integrations of people. As a rule they are deficient in community pride and public spirit. The common good as a supreme aim has not yet availed to make communities out of our small towns and villages.

We have settlements in our country areas. Usually they are based on family or tribal relationships. We have country neighborhoods of miscellaneous people and here and there we find a type of neighborliness that is lovely; but country communities we do not have except rarely. Perhaps the best illustration of what we mean by a country community is Valdese, up in Burke county. Here you find economic and social unity, in contrast with the diversity of interests in other small towns in North Carolina. Practically everybody owns stock in and works in the cotton factories. Practically everybody is related to the bank and credit union. Practically everybody is busy with the developing cheese industry of the village. Practically everybody belongs to the same church. The most

apparent thing is social unity and solidarity. Diversity and disunion are the most characteristic features of most small towns in this and every other state of the Union.

Country Communities Rare: Why Rare

There are reasons for the rarity of community life in North Carolina. I am here pointing out a few of the reasons for their rarity.

1. North Carolina is a rural state. Which means that the majority of its population live in the open country outside the gates of all incorporated towns and cities. In 1920 our 2,559,123 inhabitants were divided as follows: 490,370 in 55 census-size cities; 240,753 in 413 small incorporated towns of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants; and 1,828,000 in the open country; that is to say, 71 percent of our people live outside incorporated towns and cities of any sort or size whatsoever—a vast multitude dwelling for the most part in solitary farmsteads and in social insulation. These homesteads average only 7 to the square mile the state over. They were settled in social insulation in early times and so they remain to this day. Agricultural production is small-scale production, by small producing groups, which are or may be measurably self-sufficient, existence necessities considered. Thus the inward urge to mass organization for business, social, or civic purposes has been feeble, and the result has been poor country roads, poor country schools, excessive illiteracy, and little or no attention paid to health and sanitation in rural areas. Our people have not developed a sense of social or civic responsibility to any great extent, which explains why county government in North Carolina is inefficient and wasteful as a rule—honest but unbusinesslike and extravagant. And also why all in all we have small-scale thinking about the big-scale concerns of the commonwealth.

With all the admirable traits that we love to proclaim boastfully from one end of the state to the other, we are a people of over-weening, unadjusted individualism and localism. Our game laws well illustrate this fact. Think of 14 deer seasons in nine contiguous counties, 40 different quail seasons throughout the state, and local fish and oyster laws that run into the hundreds. And so it has always been in every field of civic life. The excessive private-local public laws of North Carolina perfectly express the private-local mindedness of the state.

The word community does not mean much in North Carolina, or in the South as a whole, for that matter. We have settlements by the hundreds consisting of several families living close together. Usually they are kith and kin groups. They may be living in some mountain cove, or around some country crossroads, or as is very frequently the case they may be living near together along a single country road. Such settlements may be neighborhoods of friendliness and peace, but frequently they are areas of disagreement, suspicion, and strife. But if the dwellers

in such areas are not united in support of common interests and advantages, they are not communities.

In the North and West the community idea has begun to assume a definite significance. But to the average Southerner the word community has more or less vagueness of meaning. Therefore, compactly settled country communities, conscious of common necessities and organized for common advantages, are few and rare in any Southern State.

Nor must we get a neighborhood confused with a community. In the words of Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, "A neighborhood is simply a group of families living conveniently near together. The neighborhood can do a great many things, but it is not a community. A true community is a social group that is more or less self-sufficient. It is big enough to have its social center, its own church, its own schoolhouse, its own grange, its own library, and to possess such other institutions as the people of the locality need. It is something more than a mere aggregation of families. There may be several neighborhoods in a community. A community is the smallest social unit that will hold together. Theoretically a community could live unto itself; though that would be actually impossible, just as it is impossible for an individual to live really a hermit. A community is a sort of individualized group of people. It is both the smallest and the largest number that can constitute a real social unit. It is a sort of family of families."

North Carolina has 413 small towns, with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants each. With rare exceptions they lack the public spirit and civic pride that make communities out of crowds. They were built primarily as trade centers. They have their stores, a bank or two, mills and garages, and other business concerns. They were not designed primarily as residential towns, with an eye to beauty, comfort, and convenience, but as trading centers. They lack the civic ideal and methods of the small towns of New England and they are not villages of farm families engaged primarily in agriculture as in the countries of Europe. They exist on the basis of trade and banking, and these two businesses are quite unconsciously based on the acquisitive, predatory instincts of individualistic enterprise, not on common interests and the common good. And unless they become awake to their opportunities on the one hand, and to the influences that threaten them on the other, these little towns are in danger of decay and final disappearance. Thirty-nine of the smaller towns faded from the map of North Carolina during the last ten years.

Country Community Obstacles

With this brief preface, let us now consider the conditions that retard the development of country community life in North Carolina. In the main

they are two: (1) sparsity of population, and (2) the nature of farming as an occupation.

There are eighteen hundred thousand people in this state who dwell in solitary homesteads scattered throughout our open country, only seven families to the square mile the state over and fewer than four families per square mile in ten counties. These people live apart from the rest of the world. They do not come in contact with other people daily as city people do, and they tend to become shy, remote, aloof and suspicious. They live in a state of social isolation bound down by wont and custom, tradition, superstition and ignorance. They do not easily see or feel the need for mass organization in behalf of community advantages.

Then we have to consider, in North Carolina as in every other state in the South and Middle West, the case of the tenant. In referring to this problem I wish to quote an extract from an address by Dr. E. C. Branson, before the National Social Work Conference in Atlantic City: "In passing let me call your attention to a social ill of fundamental sort that increasingly menaces our town and country civilizations alike, namely the steady decrease in the number of people who live in their own homes and till their own farms, the steady increase of landless, homeless multitudes in both our town and country regions. These homeless people shift from pillar to post under the pressure of necessity or the lure of opportunity. They abide in no place long enough to become identified with community life, to acquire a proprietary interest in schools and churches, and to develop a robust sense of civic and social responsibility. Instable, irresponsible citizenship is a seed bed—a hot bed if you please—for every sort of irrational impulse. Instead of an asset the tenant, town or country, becomes a liability in community building and in community progress. A full third of all our white and two-thirds of all our negro farmers are tenants. From two-thirds to three-fourths of all our city dwellers live in houses they do not own. It is hard to develop community life among landless, homeless people."

How are we to deal with the ills of solitariness, remoteness, and aloofness? How are we to tear down the barriers that surround people living in a state of isolation and social insulation?

The isolation of farm life in the South started when our country was first settled, and now it has become the heritage of centuries. It is excessive in the sparsely settled counties of the tidewater regions and the mountains. All told, it definitely retards community life in 60 counties of the state. In three of these counties there are no incorporated towns, in seven there are no railroad facilities, in three there are no newspapers or banks, in thirty there is not a single standard high school. In all of them market centers and facilities are lacking and ready cash is rare. In consequence schools and churches are poorly supported, and illiteracy bulks up in country areas. Ninety-six percent of all the white

illiteracy of the entire state is in the sparsely settled country regions of North Carolina.

And as long as these conditions exist just so long are we going to have excessive individualism and deficient community life in North Carolina, and not only in North Carolina but throughout the South. "We are far removed from socialism in any sense good or bad, but we are only a hair's breadth away from individualism, raw, raucous, and unorganizable. We have long been excessively rural and individualistic, in business enterprise, in legislation, civic rule, and religious consciousness. Our fundamental ill is social insulation and our fundamental task is local organization for economic and social advantage, for local self-expression and self-regulation in community affairs and for generous, active civic interest in commonwealth concerns," says Professor Branson.

The problems of social solitariness have always existed in North Carolina. The Shaving of Shagpat has always been a necessity in this state, but we have only recently become aware of it. Social legislation is less than five years old in North Carolina, and there are still many people among us that confuse sociology with socialism, and the social worker with the socialist.

The health officer and public health nurse have been a long time coming, and even now there are many thousands in North Carolina who do not derive any benefit from such workers because they are hard to reach in remote farmsteads. Which is to say, social work is retarded by our lack of community life. Most of our counties have social workers of one sort or another, but they are looked upon by the majority of the country dwellers as an added tax burden and a useless expense. In some places where they have social workers on the payroll of the county it is with difficulty that the county commissioners can be persuaded to appropriate money for their salaries. The common good is not easily uppermost in the mind of people deficient in community life, who dwell aside and apart from their fellows, busy with individual, private purposes and businesses. How are we going to get full-time health officers, with a staff of nurses, in every county in North Carolina to look after the health of our country people? And then how are we going to provide for other social work, which in a way is just as essential?

Another consequence of private-mindedness in farm areas is the weak country school. The little red schoolhouse with its one teacher is more of a drawback than a stimulus to community progress. The small one-teacher schools are weak and inefficient as a rule, and almost unavoidably so. The districts are too small to carry on schools of any great value. The only money for them comes out of the public school fund of the state and county. The people are too indifferent or too opposed to local school taxes to provide means for running country schools that are worth-while. They are willingly dependent on very poor schools for the education of

their children. The teachers that they get are poorly educated, overworked, and underpaid. The salary that a country teacher gets in a one-teacher school is barely sufficient to pay her board bill for the few months she is teaching. Or such is commonly the case. This state of affairs is a blot on our country civilization. Unless country communities can develop community pride and enterprise, we can never expect to wipe out the appalling illiteracy of North Carolina. We shall not make any great progress in community building until illiteracy and farm tenancy are abolished. And when the death knell of the small one-teacher school is sounded, we shall have gone a great way in this direction.

Community Building Agencies

The second topic in this discussion is the most promising of the agencies of social integration. In treating it I shall discuss only two nucleating centers of country community life, namely (1) the consolidated school in a county-unit system, and (2) the small-town that functions properly. I shall point out only a few of the most important aspects of these agencies.

1. In the first section of this paper we considered the small, weak school a drawback to community progress. I shall now try to show why we should consolidate these small weak schools into large, strong consolidated schools. In the first place the consolidated school would give better equipped schools with teachers of higher grade, better educated and trained and better paid during longer terms. And this would mean a better educated citizenry, with larger visions of life. It would mean also better trained men and women for community leadership; men who would be trained in the things that constantly confront and baffle country people.

The consolidated school that is working properly is an agency of community usefulness. By this I mean that the student learns agriculture, and domestic science along with college preparatory subjects. But still better he is learning how to live and work with his fellows. That is, he is learning to take an interest in the common interests of the community and how to make the home community a better place to live in.

Another important feature of the consolidated school is that it brings the children of different neighborhoods together. This in itself would be of little importance, if it were not for the fact that, in living together on intimate terms and playing together day by day, the children of various neighborhoods learn the social lessons of teamwork and teamplay. If democratic teamwork is ever learned, it is learned in school. The children of the several neighborhoods learn to play together and, in learning to play together while children, they are prepared to work together as citizens in common community enterprises. People who never play together never learn to live together and work together in community life.

Along with the training of the youth of a community in academic subjects, the consolidated school can serve as a social center where the older people can get together in various school entertainments, and community meetings to discuss community conditions and to plan for community progress. It can be a meeting place for the various clubs, such as the farmers' club and the farm women's club, the boys' club and the girls' club, and other community organizations. There are numberless ways in which the consolidated school can be used to integrate and solidify a community. It is indispensable in a live, progressive community. Its social uses are even greater than its academic uses.

2. Another hopeful agency in community building is the small-town that functions properly. When we speak of anything functioning properly, we think of it running smoothly and doing efficiently the things for which it exists. A small-town that does not take into generous consideration the trade area surrounding it is not functioning properly. It must build up the surrounding countryside if it would have a durable basis for its own prosperity. The day is at hand when our small towns must function properly. Their very existence depends upon it, to say nothing of increasing population, progress, and prosperity. The cityward drift spells their doom unless they wake up to the fact that in self-defense they must become choice residence centers—the choicest in the round world. The little country town needs to dream of becoming the loveliest place on earth to look at and to live in.

It needs deliberately to make up its mind (1) to develop as a trade and banking center comfortably related to the surrounding trade area, and (2) it needs to develop a civic pride sufficient to make the home town the best residence town on the globe, or (3) it must establish industries with increasing weekly pay-rolls, and thus attract the population necessary to move it over into the class of census-size cities. But big or little, it must be a choice residence center, safe for children to be born in and to grow up in.

Failing to do one or another or all of these things, the little towns of this and other states are in imminent danger of dwindling in population and importance and are disappearing from the map entirely.

* In his speech before the State Social Work Conference, in Raleigh on January 25th, Dr. Branson says: "The cityward drift spells the doom of drowsy little towns lacking civic pride and enterprise sufficient to develop superior residential advantages. When country people move they go with a hop-skip-and-jump over dull little towns into census-size cities, in this and every other state. As a result ninety-three of our little towns dwindled in population during the last ten years, and thirty-nine more faded from the map. The lesson the 1920 census reads to small-town capitalists who own building lots, enjoy rent revenues, run stores, and operate banks is, make your home-town the best place on earth to live in, develop

local manufactures set in garden cities, or move in self-defense into progressive centers, or reconcile yourselves to stagnant community life with all its menaces to family integrity and business opportunity. If the 413 little country towns of North Carolina can be brought into right relationship with the surrounding trade areas—as, for instance, Garuett, Kansas—they will not only save themselves but also the country regions round about. The small-town approach to country-life problems is a hopeful approach, if only country bankers, country merchants, and country ministers can be brought to realize it.”

The small country town is dependent on the surrounding country areas for its existence, just as the country is dependent on the town for markets, ready cash, credit, and the manufactured artifices of civilization. They are so closely correlated that neither can get along without the other. That being the case, it is to the advantage of small-town capitalists to make their town the farmers’ town. By that I mean, make the man from the country feel that the town is indispensable to his well-being.

This can be done in a number of ways—by good schools freely open to country children, by churches in which the country people feel at home, by banks that encourage well-balanced farm systems, by community library service, community public health service, and so on and on.

Then, too, the town with abundant public conveniences can endear itself to those who visit and trade in it, whether they be from the country or not. Such neighborly facilities as reading and rest rooms, hitching racks, camping yards and sheds, parks and amusement squares, ought to be provided by every little country town. Abolishing ordinances that discriminate against the farmers, would go a long way toward making the small town a great agency for good in country districts.

Community Organization

As community organization is one of the primary needs of North Carolina we shall consider it as fully as the occasion permits.

An organized community is one with the different social agencies in it properly adjusted to one another, so that there is no overlapping, duplication, and waste of energy, time, and money. The best interest of the whole community is the ideal.

The territory of a community is not necessarily confined to fixed limits. It should comprise the whole of a town’s trade area whether large or small. In North Carolina there is no city so large that it could not be considered one community.

There are a great many state-wide public welfare agencies in North Carolina. Among these are the State Department of Agriculture, the State Board of Health, the State Department of Education, the State Educational and Charitable Institutions, the State Board of Public Wel-

fare, the State Bureau of Community Service, and the Bureau charged with Curing Adult Illiteracy.

The county agencies are the county commissioners, the farm and home demonstration agents, the county board of education, the county superintendent of public instruction, the county rural school supervisor, the county board of charities and public welfare, the county superintendent of public welfare, the county home, the county board of health, the county health officer, the public health nurse, the county road commission, the clerk of the superior court who is a juvenile court judge, the grand jury, the public schools, and the farm life schools.

The religious agencies of the state are the churches, Sunday schools, church schools, and church orphanages.

The volunteer social agencies of North Carolina are the Community Service, Inc., the Y. M. and the Y. W. C. A., the National Travelers' Aid Society, the Girl's Friendly Society in America, the Urban League, the Red Cross, the North Carolina Land Owners' Association, Building and Loan Associations, the North Carolina Good Roads Association, Marketing Associations, Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, Kiwanis Clubs, Civitans Clubs, Good Fellows Club, Parents-Teachers Association, Community Clubs, County Councils, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Woodcraft League of America, Associated Charities, Hebrew Charities, the Salvation Army, the North Carolina Tuberculosis Association and the International Health Board, the Association of Public Health Nurses, and so on and on.

Another subject of community organization to which reference should be made in this connection is the effort that is being made especially in the larger towns and cities to bring about a better correlation of the different social agencies at work in the community. This type of community organization usually takes the form of a community council or a council of social agencies which is made up of officially appointed representatives of all the organizations at work in the general field of social welfare.

This movement which had its origin in certain cities in the North, grew out of the necessity of devising some means of preventing duplication of work on the part of the different agencies as well as the need of working out a long-term, well balanced program of work for the whole community.

The large number of agencies and organizations at work in North Carolina, as shown by the following list, shows the need of some method of bringing about a better adjustment of their programs and policies than usually prevails at the present time.

A community Council of Social Agencies has been organized in seven towns of the state. It includes only those agencies devoted to social work, but efforts are being made to have it include all the agencies of (1) education, vocation, culture, and recreation, (2) relief and remedy,

(3) industrial, commercial, social, and religious interests. "The aim of such a council is to keep the various groups in close friendly contact, to act as a clearing house of information for the general public, and to increase efficiency in all lines of community work by eliminating duplications of effort and supplementing in fields which have not been covered?"

These seven councils in North Carolina are in Rowan county, the Community Workers' Association of Cumberland and Robeson counties, in Wayne county, in Beaufort county, in Wake county, in Alamance county, and in Gaston county.

Another agency in North Carolina is Community Service, Incorporated, an organization based on social and recreational ideas. Local associations are stimulated, guided, and otherwise aided by this national agency in organizing, conducting, and locally supporting the following activities in the home town: (1) City and Neighborhood Service, (2) Community Recreation, (3) Community Drama and Pageantry, (4) Community Music, (5) Department of Information.

Five North Carolina cities have developed community service of this type—Greensboro, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Gastonia, and Fayetteville.

It is impossible in this brief chapter to treat all the activities that a community needs to develop in order to be proudly related to itself and helpfully related to its trade area.

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May 9, 1921.

CHAPTER XIX

TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SERVICE IN NORTH CAROLINA

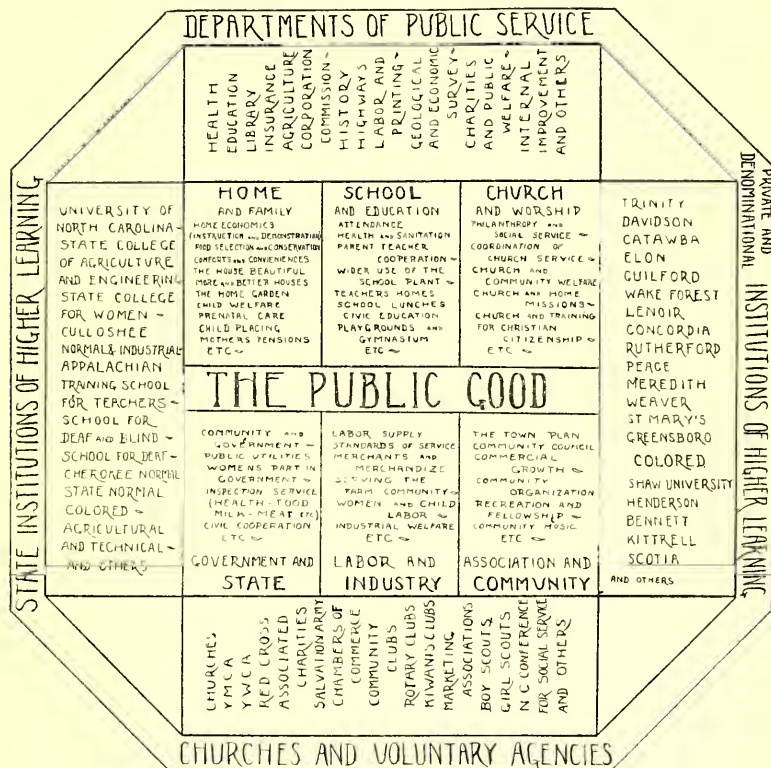
HOWARD W. ODUM, DIRECTOR SCHOOL OF PUBLIC WELFARE, UNIVERSITY
OF NORTH CAROLINA

The subject Training for Public Service in North Carolina seems to me especially appropriate for the closing paper of a year's series of North Carolina Club topics which have dealt so vitally with North Carolina problems and prospects in the fields of economic and social progress. In this paper I shall limit myself to six brief considerations. Three of these relate primarily to certain general principles with specific applications; and three relate to certain specific agencies and factors in the training for leadership in North Carolina. The six topics include (1) Certain principles underlying the organization and technique of modern public welfare, (2) Certain principles underlying the ideals of democracy itself, as it relates to public service, (3) Certain principles involved in the correlation of social agencies in North Carolina, (4) The work of the North Carolina Club, (5) The organization and work of the State Department of Public Welfare, and (6) The work and plans of the School of Public Welfare at the University. Alongside these considerations, I shall submit some exhibits to illustrate types of public service work; a plan of correlation of social agencies; an analysis of the opportunities for service in the rural community; a state-wide plan for the conservation and promotion of Boy Life in North Carolina; a chart showing the organization of the State Department of Public Welfare, and one showing the county organization.

I find myself wishing very much that we might discuss at length many other aspects of training for public service. How profitable it might be for us to emphasize public office and the obligations and opportunities of public officials in general in this state is manifest. We have sometimes underestimated the importance of public office and have failed to train a leadership which would prove adequate for tasks so important. We have assumed that those who fail in other things may hold public office with impunity, just as we used to so consider the teacher a general utility individual. There is a common story told of a citizen who, myth says, went to see his doctor with a complaint about his brain. The doctor being busy suggested that he leave his brain in the office and he would examine it later. This procedure was followed and the man went back home. Later the doctor called over the telephone to say that he had examined the brain which was now ready to be returned. To which the

A PROGRAM OF CORRELATION FOR NORTH CAROLINA AGENCIES

Training for Public Service is closely related to the correlation of social agencies.



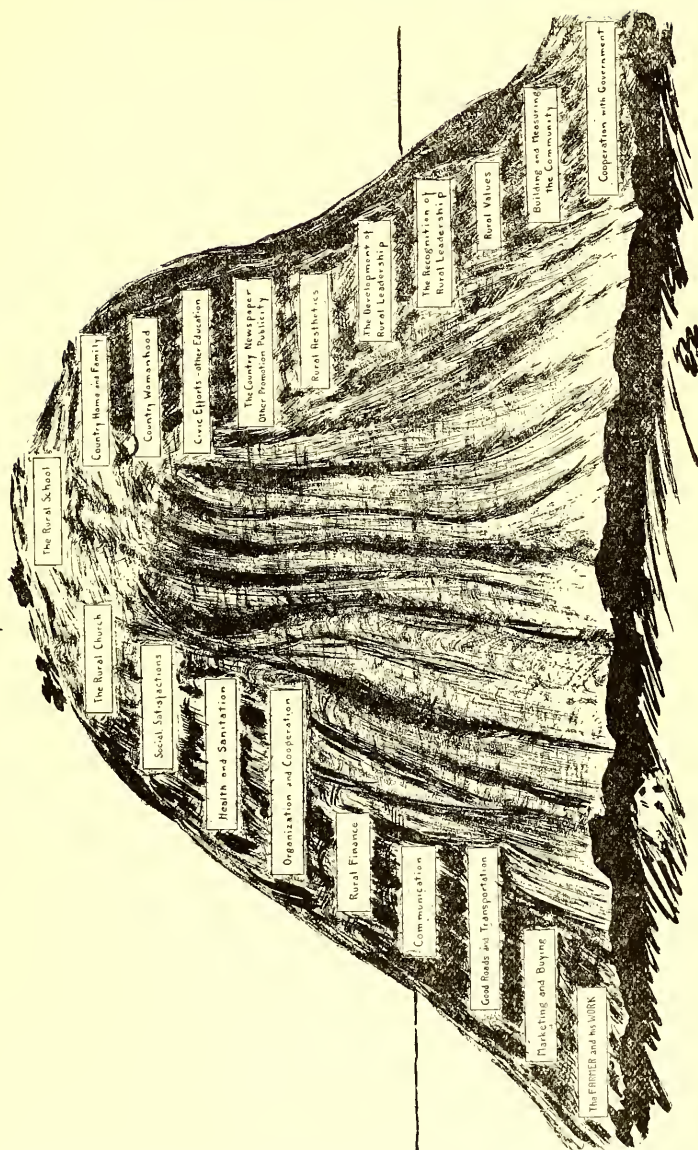
Three important results are sought: The strengthening of services rendered, the elimination of duplication and unnecessary efforts; and the bringing into the field of public service of other institutions and agencies not now correlated.

citizen replied that he did not now need it since he had accepted a public office. We do not, however, need a mythical story to remind us that we often do not use enough brains in our public service or that the public does not treat with due consideration all of its public servants. The topics discussed in these meetings but give emphasis both to the need of better trained public servants and to a higher appreciation, on the part of the public, of those who render service on behalf of the common good.

We cannot, however, in this chapter go into many other aspects of public service. But we do wish to emphasize a public service, in some ways new, in some ways old, that is destined to re-work the future of many of our towns and counties and states. I refer to the organization and technique of modern public welfare. One may well venture the assertion that the greatest contribution of the first half of this century will be public welfare, interpreted to mean an organization and technique for making democracy effective in the unequal places, just as public education was the greatest contribution to social progress of the last century. What the American Government, duly established in constitution and legislation, was to the original ideals of our American forefathers, public welfare may well be to the ideals of our more modern complex life and government. In the early days there was something needed besides high ideals and eloquence and self-sacrifice; form and government were necessary to make good the ideals which America had developed. So in this day of great cities, of complex industrial and social life, of vast increase in population and of growing complexities in our culture and civilization, our government of ideals must have something of community participation and the technique of public welfare to make good its guarantees that all the people shall have a fair chance in life.

For here are the very fundamentals of democracy and public service. Unless the government which proclaims equal opportunity for all shall provide adequate means of bringing about these desired ends, its professions will not abide permanently. A state may proclaim compulsory school attendance, but unless those who live in the far away places be apprised of the values of education, be led in the paths of its worth, and be provided with facilities, the law must be invalid and must defeat its own ends. Unless the government which proclaims equality before the law shall also provide for little children some nearer modes of equality of life and work, its tenets of democracy will still be formal and ineffective. And so for other services of a democratic government. It is not merely that we may have political democracy. We must also have a democracy that gives the citizen his full service in the home with his family, in the school with his instruction, in the church with his worship, in the state with his government, in industry with his work, and in the community with his associations. Our democracy will then become six-fold: organic, educational, religious, industrial, political, and social; and without any

The Rural Community - A Bulwark of National Power



From the economic basis found in the work of the farmer and his family, through the social agencies represented at the climax by the school, to the other foundations in community and government, there is urgent need for trained leadership and devotion to public service.

one of these we fall far short of the standards which must carry us forward. And such democracy must be a democracy of active citizenship, of community service, of trained leadership, and of effective and comprehensive methods. Unless we shall be able to make effective, through public welfare and public service, in this new sense, our ideals of democracy, wherein shall we differ from those governments and civilizations that have gone before us? And wherein shall we provide against our own following in their footsteps?

Thus the problems of public service and public welfare become centered around the correlation of all the agencies of democracy which serve these six institutions—the home and family, the school and education, the church and worship, the state and government, industry and work, and community and association. President Leo Rowe in his current address to the American Political Science Association, stressing the development of Democracy on the American Continent, emphasized the fact that, after all, democracy was social organization reached through our republican institutions. Too long we have overlooked this important fact. Our public welfare and our democracy become, therefore, linked up closely, here and now, with our everyday community agencies and associations making for the growth and happiness of mankind. Whatever looks toward the increasing of human adequacy becomes the concern of public service. The correlation of all our agencies and the fuller coöperation of all individuals and groups working for the public good become important adjuncts to democracy and public service. I attach herewith a chart showing how the agencies of this state should be correlated and harmonized. All alike should work for the public good; but they must work through the constituted institutions, each group functioning in its own unity. There is no limit to the power for progress which North Carolina agencies, thus correlated, may bring to pass. Shall we not consider this most important aspect of our public service and train our leaders and our communities for effective service here?

There are the many agencies listed under the fourfold classification of public service departments, public institutions of higher learning, private and denominational institutions of higher learning, and the churches and voluntary agencies. We may well call upon them all and especially upon the scores of common schools represented by the State Department of Public Instruction. One might well go into details and describe opportunities for public service which each of these units and each of these groups, together with each of the smaller units in the six-fold sub-classification, may utilize. But it is enough here to urge the importance in all our training for public service that the principles of coöperation and public service be kept in the foreground.

We wish, then, to specify three particular agencies within our own midst from which we may expect much and to which we may look as types

of influences for the development of public service. And the first of these, naturally, is the North Carolina Club, with its supporting Department of Rural Social Science and rural laboratories. I know of no department and laboratory of Rural Social Economics so well equipped. And next year in the new Social Science Building there will be still broader fields of service. An examination of the topics of the last seven years and of its Year-Books gives ample evidence of the sort of work that it has done: North Carolina Wealth and Welfare; County Government and County Affairs; the State and County Council; State Reconstruction Studies; North Carolina, Urban and Industrial—what more eloquent evidence of its attempt to strike at the heart of North Carolina needs and opportunities? One of the very functions of the North Carolina Club is to provide tools for public service.

The North Carolina State Department of Public Welfare, with its state-wide county organization, may well be expected to challenge new forces in the development of public service. Already it has reached out and touched the unequal places and evolved newer ideals and new marks of service in this state. Its county system, its juvenile court provisions, and its child welfare and other work, all are constant challenges for more and better trained leaders in the state. I include herewith charts of the state and of the county organizations which may be examined as specific evidences, not only of the work being done, but of that greater need for training for public service in this field. If we look to the sketch the Rural Community, the bulwark of National Power, as a type of analysis which the trained superintendent of Public Welfare and other public service officials find in North Carolina, we may well seek new stimuli and enthusiasm to urge us forward.

And finally, I should like to refer to the work and plan of the University School of Public Welfare, one division of which has to do with the professional Training of Social Workers. The work of the school has been organized under five general divisions. The first emphasizes **instruction** in Sociology and Social Problems, including teaching in the college and university, extension teaching through the Bureau of Extension for outside communities, and through general instruction and promotion of citizenship. The second emphasizes **training for social work and community leadership**, with special reference to town, village and rural communities, and with special application to the State of North Carolina and the South. This division hopes to meet the very urgent demands of the State for trained men and women for its county superintendents of public welfare and other official positions and of many communities throughout the South for Red Cross secretaries and other community workers in mill villages and elsewhere. The third aspect of the work emphasizes **direct and indirect community service**, or social engineering through the avenues of community leaders, county superintendents of public welfare, local and district con-

ferences, and community planning for leaders, industrial managers and others. The **fourth** aspect emphasizes social research, scientific inquiry, and publication of results estimated to be of value to the State, the University, and to the general field of public welfare and social progress. A **fifth** purpose, kept constantly in the foreground, provides that the School maintain close and cordial coöperation with the State departments of public service, with other departments and schools of the University, and with local and national voluntary agencies.

There are, of course, many specific opportunities for public service, just as there are for the Department of Rural Social Science. One of these is typified by the first regional conference on municipal affairs the report of which is now being published under the title *Attainable Standards in Municipal Programs*. Another type is represented by the joint program proposed for the conservation and development of boy life in North Carolina. A copy of such a program is appended.

Are not these and other similar opportunities all that we need to direct us into better training for public service and a richer development of North Carolina Life?

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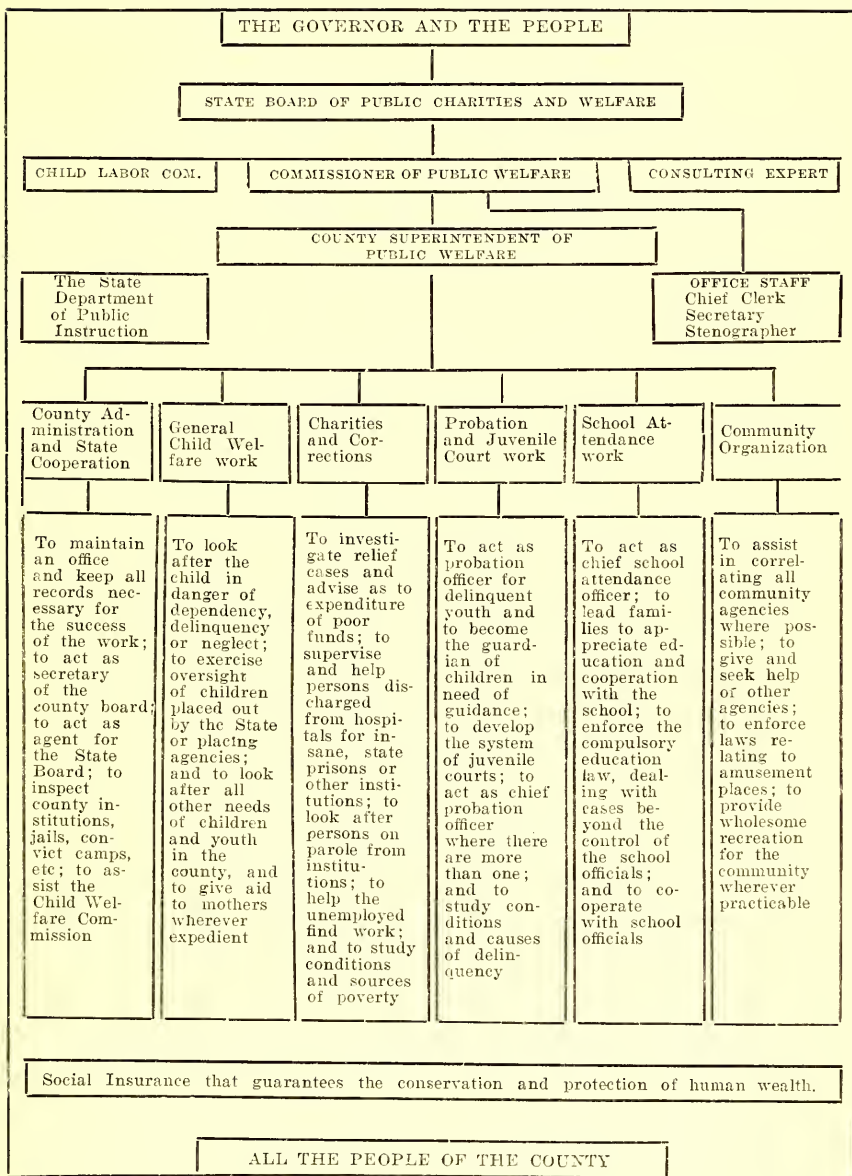
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May 30, 1921.

THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY PLAN OF PUBLIC WELFARE



A JOINT PROGRAM FOR THE CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF BOY LIFE IN NORTH CAROLINA

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
"Service to all the people"

NORTH CAROLINA ROTARY CLUBS
"He profits most who serves best"

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION AND
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC WELFARE

CHAIRMAN AND COMMITTEE ON
BOYS' WORK

COOPERATING WITH:

The Home
The School
The Church
The State
Industry
The Community

EXTENSION DIVISION AND
CHAIR OF RECREATION
AND JUVENILE
DELINQUENCY

COOPERATING WITH:

The Y. M. C. A.
Boy Scouts
Juvenile Courts
Special Homes
Local Clubs
Public Welfare

- To make surveys of community, county, or state boy work activities
- To organize local community, county or state for boys' work
- To form cooperating links in the furtherance of boy life development
- To aid existing agencies now engaged in boy work
- To promote work in communities where it does not now exist
- To develop more of boys' work in the rural areas around the towns
- To increase and develop physical activities among boys
- To publish literature for the furtherance of the cause
- To promote a boy-life page in the Sunday newspapers
- To contribute articles to the county press

- To study the work of other states and localities for our own benefit
- To continue boy-life work among the students of our colleges
- To train, through instruction and field work, boy leaders
- To undertake field work in cooperation with Rotary and other Clubs
- To cooperate with and aid boy-helping institutions
- To study and promote good work in the juvenile courts
- To work out plans and programs for vocational help and guidance
- To hold conferences to promote uniformity and effectiveness of work
- To help in all ways possible in the promotion of wholesome boy life.

Standardizing and making uniform and effective boys' work in the State; establishing new marks of cooperation and correlation of similar efforts; giving each Rotary Club the benefit of what others are doing; establishing new standards for all Rotary; establishing a clearing house for Rotary efforts and providing a Rotary Representative; and establishing a large work on a satisfactory basis that will be permanent and economical.

THE BOY HIMSELF—THE CITIZEN OF TOMORROW

THE NORTH CAROLINA PLAN OF PUBLIC WELFARE

